

THE
HISTORIE
of
ENGLAND.

The first Booke.

Declaring the estate of the Ile of Britannie
vnder the Roman Empire.

(*,*)

L O N D O N

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The Preface.



Haue oft times wished, that (among som my large Volumes, and Abridgements of our English Chronicles, as are now extant) wee might haue one continued History collected out of approued Writers, and digested in such maner, as the Reader might neither be tired with the length of fabulores, and extravagant discourses: nor left unsatisfied in any materiall pointes, or circumstances worth his knowledge. And although Truth in her nakednesse, and Simplicitie ought for her owne sake to be desired, and preferred above all other things: yet we see that the nature of man (affecting, for the most part, rather pleasure than profite) doth more willingly embrace such things as delight the sense, than such as conserue the judgement: though to satisfie both the one and the other, is accounted in matters of this kind, the Marke, at which the best Writers haue aimed, as being the very type of Perfection it selfe. In which respect, I am perswaded, that such a Worke would be the better accepted, if the Writer thereof should obserue that Method which hath beeene used in former times, by the best Historiographers among the Greekes, and Romans, who, to shew their owne wits, & to refresh their Readers, did set Speeches, and Orations, to enterlace with their true Histories, as

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things both allowable and commendable, so farre forth as they were grounded upon probable conjectures, fitting the Speakers, and voyde of absurditie. Which course hath bin held also in our owne Stories, by some of our Countreymen, in writing upon particular subiects, which they haue chosen, as most agreeable to their owne humours, and ministring best matter of discourse. Among all which of this kinde, that excellent Story of Richard the third, written by sir Thomas Moore (if my judgement faile mee not) may worthily challenge the first place.

To write much in commendation of Histories, were (I suppose) but to spend time, as the Sophister did in praysing of Hercules, whom no man (in his right wittes) euer disprayed: and the Proems of Historical Bookes are already filled with discourses of the profitable use that may be made of them, considering that Examples (as the most familiar and pleasing kinde of learning) are found, by common experience, to be much more availeable to the reforming of manners, then bare rules and precepts. If then, the knowledge of Histories in generall be so commodious & commendable a thing, as learned men in all ages haue esteemed it: I make no doubt, but it will be easely confessed, that there is no Historie so fitte for Englishmen, as the very Historie of England; in which (if the affection I beare to my native Country deceiue me not) there are many things (besides the necessary use thereof) very well worthy to be remembred, and obserued: howsoeuer our Chronicles haue bin a long time condemned for barbarous, as wanting that purity of language, wherewith the Historics of many other Nations are adorned. And indeede I could wish, that they were so set forth, as our Gentlemen of England might take

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solasse pleasure in reading the same, then they doe now in reading the English translations of the Roman, French, & Italian Histories, which, though they may be delightfull, and in some kindes profitable: yet is not the knowledge of them altogether so pertinent, and proper to vs, as of the other, except we would desire to seeme Citizens of an other Countrey, and strangers in our owne.

And although to some perhappes it may seeme a labour unnescessary, to beginne with such auncient things as were done heere by the Romans, specially considering the difference of time it selfe (which in every age bringeth forth diverse effects) and the dispositions of men, that for the most part take lesse pleasure therein, then in the relation of the occurrents of their owne, or later times: yet I thinke it fitte for order sake, there to beginne, whence we haue the first certaine direction to proceede: and I doubt not but some good use also may be made, cuen of those auncient thinges (howsoeuer they may be accounted impertinent to vs) eyther by imitation, or by way of comparison.

As for the storie of Brute, from his first arriuall heere, untill the comming of the Romans, diuersc Writers holde it suspected, reputing it (for good causes) rather a Poeticall Fiction, then a true History, as namely, Iohannes de Whethamsted Abbot of Saint Albans, a man of great judgement (who liued about the yeere of Christ 1449.) & Gulielmus Nubrigensis, with others, as well moderne as auncient, who haue in like maner deliuered their censures thereof. Besides, Venerable Bede makes no mention of it at all, but begins his History with the Romans entrance into the Iland. Howbeit, seeing it hath beene for so long time generally received, I will not presume, (knowing the power

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power of prescription in matters of less continuall) ab-
solately to contradict it: though for mine owne opinion I
suppose it to be a matter of more antiquitie, then vextie. I
write not this to detract from those, that have heretofore
written thereof, in their Booke of our English Chronicles
(continued to these times,) as namely Stowe, Hollinshed,
Grafton, and others, that haue employed themselves, and
their trauals in searching out Antiquities, and memor-
able things touching the affaires of this Realme. That
which they haue done already, deserueth thankes, and good
acceptaunce, in that of a good meaning they haue done their
endeuours. But, as in the building of an house, diverse
workemen are to be vsed for diverse purposes: namely, some
to prouide timber, and rough-hew it, others to carue and
polish it: so I thinke it incete that some man of knowledge
and iudgement requisite for the accomplishing of such a
worke, should aduisedly peruse our English Chronicles,
(the substance and matter (though layde uppe in diverse
publicke & priuate Storehouses) being already prouided,)
and thereof to frame an Historie, in such manner, as the
Reader might reape both pleasure and profit thereby. How-
beit, I fee small likelihooode that any thing wil be done here-
in, while such as are best able to performe it, are content
to looke on, straining courtesie who should beginne: some
refusing the labour, in respect eyther of the labour it selfe,
or of the small recompence that followeth it: considering
withall, the carelessness, and thanklessness of this Age,
wherein the best Worke (contrained with many yeares tra-
uaile) are, for the most part, eyther scarcely vouchsafed
the reading, or else read with a full stomacke, and a kinde
of loathing.

Others



THE FIRST Booke of the Historie of England.

*Declaring the estate of the Ile of Britanny under the
Roman Empire.*



T is recorded by the most true, and ancient of all Histories, that the Iles of the *Genitiles*, after the vniuersal flood, were first diuided and inhabited, by the posterite of *Iaphet*; from whose eldest sonne called *Gomer*, the *Cimbrians* (as Writers reporte), derived their name and descent, imparting the same to the *Gaels*, and *Germans*; and consequently, to the Inhabitants of this Ile; as being originally descended from the *Gaels*, that came ouer hither at the first, either vpon a naturall desire, (which men commonly haue to discouer places vnowne) or to auoyde the assaults of other Nations encroching vpon them; or happily to disburden their native soyle, by seeking new habitation abroad. And this opinion of the *Britans* first comming out of *Gallia* seemeth the more probable, in regard, both of the situation

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of this Iland, in neerenesse to that continent, and also of the uniformitie in language, religion, and policie, betwene the most ancient Gauls, and Britans.

Touching the name of *Britannie*, with the Gouvernours and state thereof before the *Romans* arriuall, as they are things, not to haue bin neglected, if any certaine knowledge of them had bin left vs, by approued testimonies of former ages: so I think it not now requisite, therein, either to recite the diffrent coniectures of other Men: or of my selfe, constantly to affirm any thing, as wel for that those matters haue bin already handled at large by our moderne Writers, as also, for that I suppose, in ayming at such antique Originall (there being but one truth amidst many errors) a man may much more easily shoot wide, than hit the marke. I purpose therefore (omitting *Eymologies* of wo:ords, and varietie of opinions concerning the first inhabitants and their doings) to take the name and affaires of this Ile, in such sort, as they were first known to the *Romans* in the time of *Julius Cesar*, when the *Roman* state, (which had tryed all kindes of gouernement, as namely that of *Kings*, then *Consuls*, *Decemvirs*, and *Tribunes*) began to be vslurped by a few, and soone after submitted it selfe to one. For about the foure and fiftieth yeare before the birth of our Sauiour Christ, *Cesar* being then Gouvernor of *Gallia* for the Senate and people of *Rome*, and hauing brought some part of that country vnder obedience; intended a voyage with an army into *Britannie*, partly, vpon pretence of reuenge (for that the *Britans* had diuerse times ayded the *Gauls* in their warres against the *Romans*) and partly, to satisfie himselfe with the sight of the Iland, and the knowledge of the inhabitants, and their customes; whereto he might perhaps be the more readily induced, by Reason of his owne naturall inclination to vndertake great and difficult attempts, and with the increase of his owne glory, to enlarge the Limits of the *Roman* Empire, vnto which at that time the soueraignetie of the whole world

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world was, by diuine prouidence, allotted. And to this end, he thought good to be first informed of the nature of the people, and of such haunes in the Ile, as were most commodious to receiue any shipping that should come thither, which things were in a manner vñknowne to the *Gauls*, by reason the *Ilanders* suffered none to haue accesso to them, but merchants onely; neither knew, euen they, any other places, than the sea coasts, and those partes of the Ile, that confronter the continent of *Gallia*. Whereupon, *Cesar* supposing it necessary to make som discouery, before he aduertised himselfe in the action, sent *Caius Volusenus* in a long boat, with instructions, to inquire of the quantity of the Iland, of the condition of the inhabitants, of their manner of making warre, of their gouernement in peace, and what places were fittest for landing. After which dispatch made, himselfe, with all his forces (which were newly returned from making warre beyond the *Rhene*) marched into the country of the *Morini* (from whence was the shortest cutte into *Britannie*:) for there he had appointed his shippynge to meet him.

In the meane tyme, his purpose being known to the *Britans*, by report of the *Mercants*, (that traded with them,) diuerse States of the Ile, (either fearing the greatnessse of the *Roman* power, or affecting inuocatiōn for some private respects) sent ouer Ambassadours, who promised, in their names, to deliuer hostages, for assurance of their obedience to the people of *Rome*; but *Cesar*, though he was fully resolued to enter the Iland, yet he curteously entertained their offer, exhorting them to continue in that good minde, as a meane to draw on the rest, in following the example of their submission. For the better affecting wherof, he appointed *Cornelius* the chiefe Gouvernor of the *Atrebates*, (as a man, whose wisdome, and faith he had tried, and whom he knew to be respected of the *Britans*) to accompane the Ambassadours in their returne, giving him in charge to goe

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to as many Citties, as wold permitte him accesses; and to perswade the Rulers to submit themselves, as some of their Nation had already done: and further, to let them knowe, that himselfe, with all conuenient speede, would come thither. The Princes of the Ile, being as yet, vnaquainted with any ciuill landes of governement, maintained quarrells and factions among themselves, whereby, while one sought to offend another, and to enlarge his owne parte, by encroching vpon his neighbours (not obseruynge, that what they gained in particular one of another, they lost all together in the generall reckoning.) they made an open paslge in the end, for the *Roman* to conquer the whole (a thing common to the with other Nations, who haue found the like effects to proceede from the like causes.) For the most part of the *Britans*, in those daies, delighted in warre, neglecting husbandry, or happily, not then knowing the vse of it. Their maner of living, and customes, were much like to those of the inhabitants of *Gallia*. Their diet was such as Nature yeelded of her selfe, without the industrie of man: for though they had great store of cauel, yet they liued (specially in the inland countries) with milke. It was held among them, as a thing vnlawful, to eate of a hare, a henne, or a goose, and yet they nourished them all for recreations sake. Their apparell was made of the skinnes of beastes, though their bodies were (for the most parte) naked and staineid with woad, which gaue them a blewish colour, and (as they supposed) made their aspect terrible to their enemies in battaile. Their houses were compact of stakes, reedes, and boughes of trees, fastned together in a round circle. They had tenne or twelue wiues a peece common among them, though the issue were alwayes accounted his, that first married the mother being a mayden. They were, in stature, taller than the *Gauls*, in wit, more simple, as being lesse ciuill.

By this time, *Volusenus*, (who durst not set foote on land,

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to hazard himselfe amongst the barbarous *landers*) returned to *Cesar* (namely, the fift day after his setting forth) and made relation of such things as he had seene, & heard, by report, in rouning vp and downe the coast in view of the Iland. *Cesar* hauing composed some tumults in the hither parte of *Gallia*, that he might leaue no enemy behinde his backe to annoy him in his absence, pursued the enterprise of *Britannie*, hauing, to that end, prepared a Nauie, which consisted of about fourte score shippes of burden (a number sufficient, as he thought, for the transportation of two *Legions*); besides his long boates, wherein the *Quaestor*, the Lieutenants, and other officers of the Campe were to be imbarqued. There were also eighteene ships of burden (that lay winde bound about eight miles from the Port) appoynted to waft ouer the horsemen. *P. Sulpicius Rufus*, Lieutenant of a *Legion*, was commandanted to keepe the hauen it selfe with such power, as was thought sufficient. These things being thus ordered, and a good parte of the summer now spent, *Cesar* put out to sea about the third watch of the night, hauing giuen direction, that the horsemen should embarke in the vpper hauen, and follow him; wherin, while they were somewhat slacke, *Cesar* with his shippes, about the fourth houre of the day, arrived vpon the coast of *Britannie*, wher hee behelde the Clifffes possessed with a multitude of barbarous people, rudely armed, and ready to make resistance.

The nature of the place was such, as by reason of the steepe hils enclosing the sea on each side in a narrow strait, it gaue great aduantage to the *Britans* in casting downe their dars upon their enemies vnderneath them. *Cesar* finding this place vnsuit for landing his forces, put off from the shore, and cast anshor; expoynting the rest of his Fleet, and in the meane time calling a quarrell of the *Lieutenants*, and *Tribunes* of the soyldiers, he declared vnto them, what hee had understood by *Volusenus*, and directed what he would haue

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haue done; warning them, that (as the state of the warre, & specially the sea-seruice required) they would be ready to weigh anchor, and to remoue, to, and fro (vpon occasions) at a beck, and in an instant.

This done, hauing aduantage, both of wind, and tide, he set forward with his Nauy, about foure Leagues from that place, and then lay at anchor in view of the open, and plaine shore. But the Ilanders, vpon intelligence of the *Roman* purpose, had sent thither (before *Cesars* comming) a company of horse men and chariots called *Escaas*, (which they then vsed in their warres) and following afterwardes with the rest of their forces, impeached their ennemis from landing, whose shippes, by reason of their huge bulkes (drawing much water) could not come neare to the shoare, so as the *Roman* souldiers were thereby enforced in places vnuknowne (their bodies being charged with their armor) to leape into the water, and encounter the *Britans*, who assayled them nimblly with their darteres, and draue their horses and charriots, with maine force, vpon them: The *Roman* being therewith terrified, as men vnaquainted with that kind of fight, fayled much of the woonited courage, which they had shewed in their former land-seruices; and *Cesar* perciuing it, caused the long boates (which seemed more strange to the barbarous people, and were more seruicable, by reason of their swiftnesse in motion) to put off, by little and little, from the greater ships, and to rowe towardes the shoare, from whence they might more easily charge the *Britans*, with their arrowes, slinges, and other warrelike engins, which (being then vnuknowne to the Ilanders, as also the fashion of the shippes, and motion of the darteres in the long boates, hauing stricken them with feare and amazement) caused them to make a stand, and afterwardes to drawe backe a little.

But the *Roman* souldiers making no haste to pursue them by reason of the water, which they suspected in some places

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places to be deepe and dangerous: the Standard-bearer of the Eagle for the tenth legion, praying that his attempt might proue succellfull to the legion, cryed out with a lowde voyce in this manner.

" Fellow souldiers, leape out of your boats, and follow me, except you meane to betray your Standard to the enemy: For mine owne part, I meane to discharge the dutie I owe to the Common-wealth, and to my Generall. This said, he cast himselfe into the water, and carried the Standard boldly against the *Britans*. Wherupon the souldiers exhorting one another to follow the Ensigne, what fortune soever might befall, with common consent leapt out of their long boates, one seconding another; and so wading through the water, at length got to shore, where began a sharpe and bloody fight on both sides; The *Roman* were much incumbred, by reason, that they coulde neither keep their ranks, nor fight vpon firme ground, nor folow their owne Standards, for every one as hee came on land, ranne confusedlie, to that which was next him.

Some of the *Britans* (who knew the flattes, and shalow places, espying the *Romanes*, as they came single out of their shippes) pricked forward their horses, and set vpon them, ouerlaying them with number, and finding them vndealidly and vndealid to make any great resistance, by reason of the depth of the water, and weight of their armor, while the greater part of the barbarous people with their darteres assailed them fiercely vpon the shore: which *Cesar* perciuing, commaunded the Cock-boates, and Skowts to be manned with Souldiers, whom he sent in all haste to rescue their fellowes. There was a souldier of *Cesars* company called *Cassius Scena*, who, with some other of the same band, was carried, in a small boat, vnto a rocke, which the ebbing sea, in that place, had made accessible. The *Britans* espying them, made thitherward; the rest of the *Roman* escaping, *Scena* alone was left vpon the rocke, to withstand the

the furie of the enraged multitude, that assailed him with their daires, which he received vpon his sheild, and thrust at them with his speare, till it was broken, and his helmet and shield lost; Then being tired with extreame toile, and dangerously wounded, he betooke himselfe to flight, and (carrying two light harnesses on his backe) with much difficulty recouered *Cæsar's Tent*, where he craved pardon, for making so bold an attempt without commandement of his Generall. *Cæsar* did both remit the offence, and reward the offender, by bestowing vpon him the office of a *Centurion*. This was that *Scæna*, who afterwards gaue good cause to haue his name remembred in the *Roman* story for the memorable seruice he did to *Cæsar* in the time of the ciuill warres betweene him and *Pompey* at the battaile neere *Dyrachium*. The *Romans* hauing at length got footing on drie land, gaue a fresh charge vpon the *Britans*, and in the end enforced them to turne their backs, and leaue the shore, though they could not pursue them farre into the Land for want of horsemen (*Cæsar's* accustomed fortune failing him in this one accident.) The *Britans*, after this ouerthrow, assembling themselues together (vpon consultation had amongst them) sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, promising to deliuer in pledges or to doe whatsoeuer else hee would commaund them. With these Ambassadors came *Cominius* of *Arras*, whom *Cæsar* had sent before out of *Gallia* into *Britannie*, where, hauing deliuered the Message he had then in charge, he was apprehended, committed to prison, and now after the battaile released. The chiefe States of the *Britans* seeking to excuse their attempts, laid the blame vpon the multitude, who being the greater number, and wilfully bent to take armes, could neither by perswasion, nor authority be restrained: and they pretended their owne ignorance, as being a free people, and not experienced in the customes of other Nations. *Cæsar*, although he reproued them for making warre in that maner (considering that

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of their own accord they had sent ambassadors to him (before his arriuall in *Britannie*) to desire peace: yet was content to pardon them, vpon delivery of pledges, whereof some he received presently, and the rest being to come frō remote places, he appointed to be sent in by a certaine day; So the *Britans* were dismisset, to returne into their countries, & in the meane time there came diuerse Princes from other parts of the Ile to submit themselues and their Cities to *Cæsar*. The fourth day after the *Roman* landing, the ships before mentioned, appointed for transportation of *Cæsar's* horsemen, hauing a fauourable gale of wind, put out to the sea from the vpper hauen, and approaching neare the Iland, in view of the *Roman* Campe, a sodaine storme arose, and scattered them, drivning some of them backe againe to the Port from whence they came, and some others vpon the lower part of the Iland westward, where, after they had cast anchor, (their keeles being almost ouerwhelmed with the waues,) they were carried by violence of the storme in the night into the maine, and with very great perill recouered a harbor in the continent. The same night the Moone was at the full, at which time commonly the Sea in those partes is much troubled, and overfloweth the bankes by reaon of the high tides, (a matter vnowne to the *Romans*) insomuch as the long boates, which transported the army, then lying vpon the shore, were filled with the flood, and the shippes of burden that lay at anchor, were beaten with the storme, and split in peeces, the greater number of them perishing in the water, and the rest being made altogether vnserviceable, (their anchors lost, and tacklings broken;) Wherewith the *Romans* were much perplexed, for that they neither had any other shippes to transport them backe againe, nor any meanes to repaire, what the tempest had ruined: and *Cæsar* had formerly resolued to winter in *Gallia*, by reason hee was vnfurnished of vittaille to mainaine the army during the winter season. Which beeing

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knowne to the chiese States of the *Britans*, (who had mette together about the accomplishment of such things, as *Cæsar* had commaunded them) they supposed a fit oportunitie was offered them to revolt, while the *Romans* wanted horsemen, shippes, and all maner of prouisions; the number of their forces seeming also the lesse, in respect of the small circuit of their Campe, (*Cæsar* having transported his *Legions* without any carriages, or such like warrelike necessaries.) Whereupon they concluded to keepe them from vittaile, and to prolong the warre, till winter; assuring themselves, that if they could either vanquish the *Romans*, or barre them from returning thence, there would no foraine Nation after them aduenture to set foote againe in *Britannie*. Hereupon they entred into a second conspiracy, conueyng themselves by stealth out of the *Roman* Campe, and gathering company to them priuily from diuerse parts, to make head against their ennemis. *Cæsar*, albeit he were ignorant of the *Britans* purpose, yet supposing that the estate of his army, and the losse of his shippes were knowne to them, and considering that they had broken day with him, in detaining their pledges contrary to the contract, he suspected that, which afterwardes proved true. And therefore to prouide remedies against all chaunces, he caused Corne to be brought dayly out of the fields into his Campe, and such shippes as could not be made fit for seruice, were vsed to repaire the rest, and such other things, as were wanting thereto, he appointed to be brought out of the continent; by which meanes, and the dilligence of his souldiers, with the losse of xij. shippes, the rest of his Navy was made able to beare saile, and brooke the seas againe. While these things were in doing, the *Seuenth Legion*, (according to custome) was sent forth a forraging, till which time, the *Britans* revolt was not certainly knowne, for that some of them remained a broad in the fieldes, and others came ordinarilie into the *Roman* Camp. The Warders in

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the Station before the Campe, gaue notice to *Cæsar*, that the same way which the *Legion* wēt, there appeared a greater dust, then was wont to be seene. *Cæsar* mistrusting some new practise of the *Britans*, commaunded the *Cohorts* (that kept warde) to march thither, appointing two others to supply their roomes, and the rest of his forces to arme themselves with speede and follow him. When he approached neare the place descryed, he perceiued his souldiers to be ouercharged with the *Britans*, who assailed them on all sides with their darts. For the *Britans* hauing conueyed their Corne from all other parts (this only excepted) and suspecting that the *Romans* would come thither, they did lie in the woods all night, to intercept them, and finding them dispersed, and vnready, they sodainely set vpon them, (as they were reaping) killing a few of them, and disordering the rest with their horses and chariots. The manner of their fighting in chariots was thus; First, they vsed to ride round about their enimies forces, casting their darts, where they saw aduantage, and oftentimes with the fiercenesse of their horses, and whirling of their chariot wheeles, they broke their enimies ranks, and being gotten in among the troopes of horsemen, they would leape out of their chariots, and fight on foot. The chariot-driuers in the meane time withdrew themselves by little and little out of the battaile, and placed themselves in such sort, as their maisters (beeing ouer-matched by their enemies) might readilie recover their chariots, so that in their fighting they performed the offices, both of horsemen in swiftnes of motion, and also of footmen in keeping their ground; and by daily vse, and exercise, they were growne so expert in manning their horses, as driving them forcibly downe a steepe hill, they were able to stay or turne them in the mid way, yea, to runne along the beame, to stand firme vpon the yoke, and to returne thence speedily into their chariots againe.

The Romans being much troubled with this new kind of fight, *Cæsar* came in good time to the rescue. For vpon his approch, the *Britans* gaue ouer the skirmish, yet keeping still then ground as maisters of the field, and the Romans for feare, retired themselues to their Generall, who thought it no poynt of wisedome, to hazard his forces in a place vnde knownnes; but hauing stayed there awhile, conducted the *Legions* backe againe to his Campe, and in the meane time, the *Britans* that were in the field, dispersed themselues and shruncke away. After this there were for many dayes together, continuall tempests, which kept the Romans in their Campe, and hindered the *Britans* from making any open attempt, though they sent messengers secretly into diuerse partes of the Ile, publishing abroade, what a small number of their enemies was left, what great hope there was of a rich booty, and what apparent likeli-hooode of recouering their liberty, if they could drue the Romans from their Campe. Hereupon in short time they assembled a great number of horse and foote-men, to put this their purpose in execution; *Cæsar* vnderstanding ther-of, made preparation for defence, hauing gotten also about thirtie horsemen (which *Cominius* of *Arras* brought ouer with him) whose seruice he supposed very necessary, if the *Britans* (according to their woonted maner) should seeke to saue themselues by flight. The *Legions* were placed in battaile array before his Campe. Then the *Britans* beganne the fight, which had not long continued when they gaue backe, and fled, the Romans pursuing them as farre as they durst, killing many whome they overtooke, and burning houses and townes as they returned to their Campe. The same day the *Britans* sent Ambassadours to *Cæsar*, desiring peace, which after long sute, was granted, vpon condition, that the number of the pledges (which was before imposed) should be now doubled, and speedily sent ouer into *Gallia*. For the *Æquinoctiall* drawing neere,

neere, *Cæsar* made haste thither, doubting his crazed shippes would not be well able to brooke the seas in winter. Wherevpon, taking aduantage of the next faire winde, hee embarqued his forces about midnight, and with the greatest parte of his Fleet, . arriuied in the continent. The *Roman Senate* (vpon relation of these his seruices) decreed a supplication for him, for the space of twentie daies.

In the spring of the yeare following, *Cæsar* having pacified some tumultes in *Gallia*, prosecuted the enter-prise of *Britannie*, and to that end he had prepared a Fleet of new shippes, well appointed, and commodiously built for landing his forces (the want whereof hee had found before, to his great losse) and a sufficient army consisting of five *Legions*, and a proportionall number of horse, which hee embarked at *Portus Iccium* about the Sunnes-eing, hauing a faire southerne winde to sette them forward; which failing them about midnight, the tide diuerted their course, so as in the morning hee discouered the Iland on his left hand, and then folowing the turning of the tide, he commanded his souldiers to vse their oares, that they might reach that part of the Ile, where they had found best landing the summer before; wherin they tooke such paines, as their shippes of burden kept way with their long boates and lighter vessels. About noone they landed on the shore, where there appeared no man to make resistance: the cause whereof was (as *Cæsar* afterwardes learned by such prisoners, as he tooke) for that the *Britans* hauing assembled themselues together in armes at the Sea side, were so terrified with the sight of the shippes (which of all sortes were esteemed aboue eight hundred saile) that they left the shore, and ran to hide themselues in the vpland country. *Cæsar* (vpon intelligence by Fugitives, whero the *British* forces lay) leauing at the Sea side, ten *Cohorts* & three hundred horse to gard the shippes then lying at anchor,

chor, (whereof *Quintus Atrius* had the charge) marched forward, with the rest of his army in the night, about xii. miles into the land, where he espied a multitude of *Britans* flocked together neere a riuver, hauing gotten the upper ground, from whence they beganne to charge the *Romans* with their horse and chariots; but being repulsed by *Cæsar* s horsemen, they fled, and hidde themselves in the woods, in a place, which being notably strengthned both by Nature, and Arte, they had vsed as a fortresse in their ciuill warres among themselves. For, by reason there were many great trees cut downe, and layd ouerthwart the passages round about, there could hardly any entraunce bee found into the wood; howbeit the *Britans* themselves would oft times sally forth vpon aduantage, and impeach the *Romans*, where they attempted to enter. Heerevpon *Cæsar* commaunded the souldiers of the *Seventh Legion* to make a *Testudo*, and to raise a *Mount* against the place; by which meanes, after losse of men on both sides, the *Romans*, in the end, got the *Forte*, and chased the *Britans* out of the wood; but *Cæsar* would not suffer his souldiers to pursue them farre, in regarde the place was vñknowne, and a great part of the day being then spent, he thought it fit to bestow the rest in fortifying his *Campe*. The next day in the morning, he sent out horsemen and footemen three severall wayes to pursue them that fled; but, before they had gotten sight of the *Britans*, certaine horsemen sent from *Quintus Atrius* (who had charge of the shippes) brought newes, that a great tempest the night before had distressed his shippes, and beaten them vpon the shoare, their anchors and gables being not able to hold them, nor the Mariners to guide them, or to endure the force of the storme. Wherevpon *Cæsar* caused the *Legions*, and horsemen to be sent for backe againe, and marched with speede towards the sea side, where he found his nauy in ill plights forty of his shippes being cleane cast away, and the rest with

with great difficulty seeming likely to be recovered. For effecting whereof hee tooke some Shipwrightes out of the *Legions*, and sent for others out of the conuent; writing to *Labienns* (who had the charge of certaine *Legions* there, and the guarde of *Portus Iccius*) that he should prepare as many shippes as hee could, to be sent ouer vnto him with expedition. And though it were a worke of great toyle, yet he thought it necessary to haue all the shippes haled a shoare, and to be brought into the campe, where his land forces lay, that one place might be a safegard to the both. In the accomplishment hereof he spent ten daies (the souldiers scarce intermitting their labour in the night time, till all was finished.) And then hauing fortified his *Campe*, and left there the same forces (which were before appoyned to keepe the harbor) he returned to the place, whence he dislodged vpō *Atrius* his aduertisement; where he found the number of the *Britans* much increased by confluence of people from sundry partes within the Iland. The chiefe commandement and direction for the warre was by publicke consent of the States of the Ile assigned to *Cassibilis*, the boundes of whose territory were diuided from the maritime cities, by the riuver *Thamisis*, & were distant from the sea about foure score miles. There had bin of long time continuall warre betweene him, and some other Princes of the Countries neere adioyning: but nowe both partes (fearing to be ouer-runne by a forraine ennemy) neglected priuate respects, and ioyned their forces together, appoyning him to be their leader, as a man of whose valour, and sufficiencie in militare affaires they had good experiance. The *Rom. in* army being come in view of their ennemis *Campe*, the *Britans* pressed forward to beginne the fight with their horsemen and chariots, and *Cæsar* sent out his horsemen to encounter them, so as the battaile was maintained with great resolution on both partes, and the euent thereof seemed doubtful, till in the end, the *Britans* gaue ground,

ground, and fled through the woods to the hilles, many of them being slaine in the chase, and some of the *Romans* also, who aduenterously pursued them too farre. Not long after, while the *Romans* (suspecting no danger) were occupied in fortifying their Campe, the *Britans* sallied sodainly out of the woods, and made an assault vpon the warders, that kept station before the Campe; to whose ayde *Cesar* sent out two *Cohorts* (the chiefe of two *Legions*) which making a Lane through the midſt of the *British* forces, ioyned themſelues with their distressed fellowes, and rescued them from the perill, though *Quintus Laberius Durus* a Tribune of the ſouldiers was slaine in that enterprise. But new *Cohorts* comming to ſupply the former, the *Britans* were repulſed, and ſought to ſave themſelues by flight. By the maner of this battaile, (which was fought in view of the *Roman* Campe) the *Romans* perceiued the aduantage, which the *Britans* had of them, and how ill themſelues were appointed for ſuch a kind of fight, when by reaſon of the weight of their armour, they could neither pursue ſuch as fled, nor durſt leauē their Ensignes, nor were able (without great diſaduantage) to encounter the *British* horſemen, which oft times gaue ground of purpose, & hauing withdrawne themſelues by little and little from the *Legions*, would leape out of their chariots and fight on foote; the maner of their fighting with horſes and chariots, being a like dangerous to thoſe that retired, and thoſe that pursued. Besides, they diuided their forces into companies (when they fought) and had ſeverall stations, with great diſtances betweene them, one troope ſeconding an other, and the ſound and freſh men yeelding ſupplies to the wounded and weary. The day following the *Britans* were diſcrysed vpon the hilles a ſare off, ſcattered here and there in great numbers together; being not very forward to begin a new fight, till *Cesar* hauing ſent out threc *Legions*, and all his horſemen vnder the conduet of *C. Trebonius* the Lieutenant

nant, to go a forraging, they flockt ſodainly together from all parts, and ſet vpon the forragers, not ſparing to affayle the Ensignes and *Legions* themſelues, who ſtrongly refiſted them & made them turne their backs; whē the *Roman* horſemen alſo eagerly pursued the, neuer giuing ouer the chase (as being confident in the ayde of the *Legions* that followed them) vntill they had diuen them headlong before them, killing all thoſe they ouertooke, and giuing the reſt no time, either to gather themſelues together, or to make a ſtand, or once to forſake their chariots. After this ouerthrow, many of the barbarous people (who had come fro diuerſe parts to ayde their countrymen) ſhrunke away; and *Cesar* vnderſtanding, what courſe the reſt of the *Britans* meant to hold in prosecuting the warre, led his army to the bounds of *Cassibelin*ſ country vpon the riuere *Thamis*, which was paſſable on foot, in one place onely, and that with ſome diſticulty. When he came thither, he perceiued that the *Britans* had great forces in readines on the further ſide of the riuere, the bankes whereof were fortified with ſharpe pointed stakes or piles, (about the bignes of a man's thigh, & bound about with lead,) pitched neere the ſhore, to impeach their paſſage; & ſome others of the ſame kind (the reſinants wheroft are to be ſeenie at this day) were plaſted couerly vnder water in the maie riuere. Wherof *Cesar* hauing intelligence (by ſome Fugitives, and prisoners that he had taken) commanded the horſemen, firſt, to enter the riuere, and the *Legions* to follow, ſo as (the dangerous places being diſcouered) the *Romans* waded through (their heads only appearing aboue water) and charged the *Britans* with ſuch violence, as they forced them to forſake the ſhore, & betake themſelues to flight.

Cassibelin ſeeing no likely-hood to maintaine the warre any longer by force, diſmissed the greater part of his power, and keeping with him about 4000. chariots onely, reti- red into the woods, and places of moſt ſafety, diuining

men, and cattell before him out of the fields, all that way, by which he knew the *Romans* should passe with their army, whose horsemen (as they roued vp and downe to take booties) he surprised with his chariots, and distressed them in such sort, as they durst not march forward, but keeping themselves in their strength, gaue ouer their former purpose, and from thenceforth sought only to annoy the *Britans*, by spoiling and burning their houses and townes.

19. In the meane time the *Trinobantes*, one of the chiefe States in those parts sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar*, promising to submit themselves, and to be at his commaundement. There was also one *Mandubratius*, who had fled ouer to *Cæsar*, when he was in *Gallia*, and was now become a follower of his fortune, while preferring the satisfaction of his owne discontented humor, before the aduancement of the common cause, he serued as an instrument, to betray his Native country, abusing the credite he had with his countrimen, by working their submision, to his owne dishonor, and the aduantage of a forreine ennemyn. His father *Imantinius*, (hauing bin sometimes chiefe ruler of the City of the *Trinobantes*, and well esteemed among them) was slaine by *Cassibelus* the present gouernor, against whom the Cittizens desired *Cæsar* to protect *Mandubratius*, & to commit vnto him the gouernement of their City, which *Cæsar* granted vpon deliueray of a certayne number of pledges, and a sufficient proportion of vittaille for prouision of his army. Herevpon the *Cenimagni*, *Segontiaci*, *Anælates*, *Bibroci*, and *Cass*, petty States there about, sent Ambassadors, and yeelded themselves to *Cæsar*, who vnderstood by them, that *Cassibelus* in his Towne (being wel stored with me and cattell,) was not farre from thence. This Towne (as all others so called of the *Britans* in those dayes) was onely a circuit of ground enclosed with woods, and marshes, or else intrenched with a rampire of earth about it. *Cæsar*, coming with his *Legion* to this place, (which he found very strong,

strong, as being fortisid, both naturally, and also by the industry of man) began to assaile it on both sides. The *Britans* hauing expected a while, the euent of the enterprise, and perceiving themselves vnable to withstand the assault, issued out at a back way, where many of them being slaine, and some taken (as they fled,) the towne it selfe, and all the prouisions within it, were left as a spoyle to the *Romans*.

While these things were in doing among the *Trinobantes*, *Cassibelus* dispatched messengers into the country of *Cantium*, that lies vpon the sea. The inhabitants of those parts were the more civil & better furnished to make warre then any other of the Ile. The country at that time was governed by foure Kings, (as *Cæsar* himselfe calleth them) either for that they had amōg the a kind of absolute gouernment in seuerall, or else, for that being the Register of his own acts, he supposed it would be more for his glory to be reputed a conqueror of Kings. Their names were *Cingetorix*, *Carthamus*, *Taximagus*, and *Segonax*, whom *Cassibelus* then required to raise all the power they could make, & on the sodaine to assayle the *Romans* forces, that guarded their shippes at the sea side. This was attempted accordingly, but with ill successe, for that the *Romans* hauing timely aduertisement of their purpose, preuented the execution thereof, by setting vpon them as they drew neare the *Roman* army; and so, after a great slaughter made of the *Britans* (*Cingetorix* a noble captaine and one of their Princes being taken prisoner) the *Romans* returned in safety to their Campe.

Cassibelus, hearing of the vnhappy issye of this enterprise, after so many losses sustainted on his parte, (his country being wasted with warre, and himselfe in a maner forsaken, by the revolt of the cities round about (which most of all discouraged him) sent Ambassadors to *Cæsar* by *Comius of Arras*, offering to submit himselfe vpon reasonable cōdiçions. *Cæsar* determining to winter in *Gallia* (the state of

his affaires there requiring it) and the summer being almost spent, commaunded, that he should deliuer certaine pledges for assurance of his obedience, and that he should offer no wrong, nor giue cause of offence to *Mandubratius*, or the *Trinobantes*, whom he had taken into speciall protection. And then hauing imposed a Tribute, to be paied yearly by the *Britans*, to the people of *Rome*, he marched towards the sea side, where he imbarqued his forces, and arriued with them safely in the continent. Thus *Cesar* hauing rather shewed some part of *Britannie* to the *Romans*, then made a conquest of the whole: supposed hee had done sufficiently for his owne glory, in vndertaking a matter so rare and difficult in those times. At his comming to *Rome* he presented there certaine captiues, (which he had taken in the *British* warres) whose strangenesse of shape and behauour filled the peoples eyes, both with wonder, and delight. He offered also in the Temple of *Venus genitrix* a surcote embrodered with *British* pearle, as a *Trophy*, and spoyle of the *Ocean*, leauing to posterity a perpetuall remembrance of his enterprise in this Iland, to the honour, both of his owne name, and of the *Roman* nation.

After the death of *Julius Cesar*, (by reason of the ciuill warres among the *Romans*) the Ile of *Britannie* was, for a time neglected, and *Augustus Cesar* being settled in the Empire (which was then growne to such greatness, as it seemed euен cumbred therewith) accounted it good policy to containe the same within his knowne bounds. Besides, the attempt was like to proue dangerous, and a matter of very great expence, to send an army so far off, to make war with a barbarous nation for desire of glory onely (no speciaill cause besides mouing thereto.) Howbeit (as some writers reporte) about twenty yeeres after *Julius Cesar* his first entracce, *Augustus* intended a voyage hither, in person, alledging for pretence of the warre, the wrong offred to the *Roman* state by such Princes of the Ile, as had for cer-

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twyceeres with-held the Tribute, which *Cesar* his predecessor had imposed. Vpon intelligence wherof, the *Britans* sent ouer Ambassadors, who meeting the Emperor in *Galla Celsica* declared their submission and desired pardōs. And the better to win fauor, they had carried ouer certain gifts of good valew, to be presented as offrings in the *Roman Capitol*, (hauing already learned the art to flatter for aduantage, and to appease Princes by rewards.) Hereupon a conditionall peace was granted them, and the Emperour hauing pacified some troubles in *Gallia*, returned to *Rome*. Then began the Ilanders to pay tribute, and custome for all kind of wares which they exchanged with the *Gauls*, as namely Iuory boxes, Iron chaines, and other trinkets of amber, and glasse, which were transported to and fro both out of *Gallia* and *Britannie*.

The yeere following, the *Britans* hauing failed in performance of conditions, he prepared for another expeditiōn, but being set forward on his voyage, the revolt of the *Cantabrians*, and *Asturians* stayed him from proceeding any further therin. After which time the *Britans* were left to themselves, to enioy their liberty, and vse their owne lawes without impeachment by forreine inuaders, for that the *Romans* hauing found the sweetnes of peace, after long ciuill warres, sought rather to keep in obedience such Provinces, as had bin before time brought vnder subiection, then by attempting new conquests, to hazard the losse of that they had already gotten.

In those dayes the Country of the *Trinobantes* in *Britannie* was gouerned by *Cuno-belin*, who kept his residence at *Camalodunum*. He began first to reclaime the *Britans* from their rude behauour, and to make his estate more respected, he afterwards caused his owne image to be stamped on his Coine after the maner of the *Romans* (a custome never vsed among the *Britans* before his daies, and but the newly receiued by the *Romans* themselves; for before that

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time the *Britans* vsed rings of Iron and litle plates of brasse of a certaine weight instead of Coine. During the time of his gouernment, the diuine mystery of human redemption was accomplished by the Birth of our Sauiour Christ, (Augustus Cesar then possessing the *Roman Empire*, which hee afterwards left to *Tiberius* his adopted son, a wary and politike Prince, who following the aduise and example of *Augustus* did neither attempt any thing in *Britannie*, nor maintaine any garrison there.)

But *Caesars* Caligula his successor, had a meaning to haue inuaded the Ile, had not his rash entrance into the action, and his ill successe in the German warre ouerthrown the i[n]terprise; by reason whereof he brought nothing to effect, but only made a ridiculous expedition, (answerable to the vanity of his humor) bringing an army into the hither parts of *Belgia*, and there hauing receiued into protection *Ad-mimus* (whom *Cuno-belin* his Father had banished) and certaine other *British* Fugitives, that came with him) hee wri[n]t vaunting letters to the *Senate*, as though the whole Iland had yeelded it self, hauing giuen speciall charge to the messenger, that his letters should be carried in a Chariot to the *Forum*, and not deliuered to the *Consuls*, but in a full *Senate*, and in the Temple of *Mars*. Afterwards drawing his forces downe to the sea coasts of *Belgia* (whence with wonder he beheld the high clifffes of the Ile possessed with barbarous people) he placed his souldiers in battaile array vpon the thore, and himselfe entring into a long boat, was rowed a little way vpon the sea. But not daring to aduenture further, he returned speedily to land, and then commaunding a charge to be sounded, as though hee would haue begun a fight, he appointed his souldiers to gather cockles, & muskles, in their helmets, terming them spoiles of the *Ocean*, & meet to be preserued, as offrings due to the *Capitol*. For this exploite, he afterwards at his comming to *Rome* required a *Triumph*, and diuine honors to be assign-
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ed him; but finding the *Senators*, for the most part, vnwilling to giue their assent, he burst out into threats, & had slaine some of them in the place, if they had not speedily auoyded his fury. After this, himselfe in open assembly made a declaration of his iourney, and what aduentures he had passed in the conquest of the *Ocean* (as himselfe vaine-ly termed it) whereat the common people, either for feare, or flattery, gaue a generall applause; which he (taking it as a testimony of their desire, to haue him placed ameng their gods) rewarded in this maner. He caused a great quantity of gold and siluer to be scattered on the ground, and certayne poysoned caltrops of yron to be cast among them, whereby many were killed, partly with those enuenomed engines, and partly with the presse one of an other (each man being earnest in gathering, and supposing an other mans gaine his owne losse.) So naturally was he inclined to all kindes of mischiefe, as he spared not the liues euen of those, whom he thought to deserue best at his hands.

But *Cladius* the Emperor, with better aduise, and successe, vndertooke the matter of *Britannie*; & first by perswasion of *Bericus* a *British* fugitive, and ~~exiles~~ whom the *Romans* had receiued into their protection (a matter that much discontented the *Britans*, and stirred them vp to revolt) he sent *Julius Plautius* a *Roman Senator*, a man well experiented in militare affaires, to take charge of the army then remaining in *Gallia*, & to transport it into the Iland, whereat the souldiers grudged, cōplaining that they should now make ware out of the world, and by protracting time with vnecessary delayes, they discouered openly their vnwillingnesse to enter into the action, till *Narcissus* a favorite of *Cladius*, being sent to appease them, went vp into *Plautius* his Tribunall seat, and there, in an oration, declared to the souldiers the causes of his comming, and exhorted them, not to shrinke for feare of vncertaine dangers: that the enterprise it selfe, the more perillous it seemed, the more

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more honorable it would be to atchiue it : that themselves were the men whom the heauens had ordained to enlarge the bounds of the *Roman Empire*, and to make their owne names famous in the vtmost parts of the earth. But the souldiers at the first being moued with disdaine, cryed out in seditious maner (*Io. Saturnalia*,) as though they had bin then ready to solemnize a feast, at which the Custome was, that seruants shold weare their Maisters apparrell, & represent their persons. Howbeit *Narcissus* giuing way to their fury for the present, did afterwards preuaile so farre with them, as partly for shame, and partly for hope of reward, they seemed content to follow *Plantius*, whithersoeuer he would conduet them. Then were the *Legionary* & *Auxiliary* souldiers diuided into three parts, so to bee embarqued, to the end, that if they shold be impeached in one place, they might land in another. In crossing the sea, their shippes were shaken, & beaten backe with a contrary wind; albeit their courage fayled not, but rather increased, by reason of a fierie leame shooting from the *East* towards the *West* (the selfesame way that they directed their course) which they interpreted as a token of good successe. And therevpon hoysing saile, they set forward againe, and with some difficulty (through the contrariety of wind and tide,) attiued in the land without any resistance, by reason that the *Britans* doubted not their comming; but then finding themselues surprised on the sodeine, they ran dispersedly to hide themselues in Woods and Marishes, holding it their best course, rather to prolong the warre, and weary their enemies by delaies, then to encounter them in the open field. But *Plantius* with much labor and hazard found out at length, their chiefe place of retreit, where he killed many of them, and tooke prisoner *Cataractus* their Captaine, one of the Sonnes of *Cuno-belin*, (not long before deceased.) For this exploit the *Roman Senate* did afterwards grant him a *Triumph*, which the Emperor *Claduus* honored with

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his owne person, accompanying him as he went vp into the *Capitol*.

The *Boduni* (then liuing vnder the gouernment of the *Catineuchians*) betook themselues to the protection of *Plantius*, who leauing garrisons in those parts, marched towaards a riuere, ouer which the *Britans* supposed that the *Romans* could not passe without a bridge, and therefore imagined themselues safe, hauing pitched their Campe on the other side of the water. But *Plantius* sent ouer certaine *Germans* (who being accustomed to swim ouer riuers with swift currents eu'en in their armor) found an easie passage to the further bank, and there set vpon the *Britans*, wounding the horses which drew their Chariots, and by that meanes ouerthrowing their riders, and disordering their whole power. Then was *Flavius Vespasian* (who had the leading of the *Second Legion*) & *Sabinus* his brother, appointed to passe ouer, and to charge them on a suddaine as they were dispersed. Some of the *Britans* being slaine, and some taken prisoners, the night made an ende of the skirmish. The next morning the rest of the dispersed rout shewed themselues vpon the shore, and gaue occasion of a new fight, which continued a long time, with equall aduantage, till *C. Sydius Geta* being in danger to haue bin taken, recovered himselfe, and at the last enforced the *Britans* to retire; For which seruice he had afterwardes *Triumphal* honors assigned him, although he were no *Consul*. In this conflict *Vespasian* (being beset round about by the barbarous people) was in great danger, either to haue bin slaine, or taken, if he had not bin timely rescued by *Titus* his son, who then excercised the office of a *Tribune* of the souldiers, and began in his tender yeares to giue some prooef of his valor. After this battaile, the *Britans* withdrew themselues to the mouth of the riuere *Thamis*, neere the place, where it falles into the sea, and being skilfull in the shal-lows and firme grounds passed ouer in safety, when as the

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Romans that pursued them, (not knowing the dangerous places) were oft times in great hazard. Some of the Germans that were most forward to aduenture (by reason of their skill in swimming) alioone as they had got to the further shore, were compassed about and killed by the barbarous people, and the rest of the Roman army that followed was much distressed in the passage, and shaply assailed at their coming on land; where began a bloody fight, in the which *Togodumnus* a *British* Prince, one of *Cunobelins* sonnes was slaine; whose death did nothing abate the courage of the *Britans*, but rather inflamed them with desire of revenge: for the effecting wherof, they gathered together new forces, from diuerse parts of the Ile. *Plantinus*, fearing the greatness of their power, and being straitned in a place of disaduantage, and danger, proceeded no farther at that time, but, fortifying only such townes as hee had alreadie taken, aduertised *Claudius* of the doubtfull state of his af-faires.

In the meane time, *Vespasian* was imployed in other places of the Ile, where Fortune seined to lay the foundation of that greatness, vnto which he afterwardes attained; For in a short space, he fought thirty times with the *Britans*, ouercomming two warlike Nations, and taming the fierce *Belge*, whose ancestors, comming hither at the first out of *Gallia Belgica*, either to take booties, or to make war, gaue the name of their owne Country to such places as they had subdued: (a custome commonly vsed among the *Gauls*, when they seated themselues in any partes of this I-land) With like fortunate successe *Vespasian* proceeded in attempting, and conquering the Ile *Vectis*, that lieth on the south side of *Brutannie*, when *Claudius* the Emperor being now furnished of all things necessary for the *British* expedition set forward with a mighty army, consisting of horse-men, footmen, and Elephants. He marched first to *Ostia*: from thence to *Massilia*: the rest of the voyage he made by land

land to *Gefforinacum* in *Gallia*, where he embarked. His forces being safely transported into the Ile, were led to-wards the riuver *Thamisis*, where *Plantinus* & *Vespasian* with their power attended his comming, and so the two armes being ioyned together, crossed the riuver againe. The *Britans* that were assembled to encounter them, began the fight, which was sharply maintained on both sides, till in the end, a great number of the Ilanders being slaine, the rest fled into the woods, through which the *Romans* pursued them, even to the towne of *Camalodunum*, which had bin the Royall seat of *Cunobelis*, and was then one of the most defensible places in the dominions of the *Trinobanes*. This towne they surprised, and afterwards fortified, planting therein a *Colonia* of old souldiers, to strengthen those parts, and to keepe the inhabitants there in obedience. Then were the *Britans* disarmed, howbeit *Claudius* remitted the confiscation of their goods; for which fauour the barbarous people erected a Temple, and an Altar vnto him, honoring him as a god. Now the States of the countrey round about, being so weakened by the losse of their neighbours, & their own ciuil dissentioes, as they were vnable to resist the *Roman* power any longer, began to offer their submission, promising to obey, and liue peaceably vnder the *Roman* gouernment; and so, by little, and little, the hither part of the Ile was reduced into the forme of a Province. In honor of this victory, *Claudius* was diuerse times saluted by the name of *Imperator*, contrary to the *Roman* custome, which permitted it but once for an expedition. The Senate of *Rome* also, vpon aduertisement of his successe, decreed, that he should be called *Britannicus*, and that his sonne should haue the same title, as a surname proper, and hereditary to the *Claudian* family. *Agrippina* his wife had the first place in counsel assignd her, (as *Livia* the wife of *Augustus* sometimes had,) & was also licenced to ride in a chariot. At his returne to *Rome* (which was

the sixt moneth after his departure thence) hauing continued but sixteene daies onely in the Ile) he entred the City in a *Triumph* (performed with more then vsual ceremonies of state, whereat certaine Presidents of Prouinces, and banished men were permitted to be present. On the top of his pallace was placed a *Crowne* set with steme, and fore-parts of ships, which the *Romans* called (*Corona natalis*) as a signe of the conquest of the *Ocean*. Diuers captaines, that had serued vnder him in *Britannie* were honored with *Triumphal ornaments*; Yeerly playes were appointed for him, and two Arches of *Triumph* adorned with *Trophies* were erected, the one at *Rome*, the other at *Gessoriacum*, (where he embarqued for *Britannie*) to remaine to succeding ages, as perpetuall records of his victory. So great a matter was it then accounted, and a worke of such merit to haue subdued so small a part of the Iland.

In these termes stood the state of *Britannie*, when the prosecution of the warre was committed to *P. Ostorius Scapula*, who at his landing found all in an vprore, the *Britans* (that were yet vnconquered,) raunging the Confederates Country, and vsing the greater violence, for that they supposed the new Captaine as vnacquainted with his army (the winter also being then begun) would not come forth to encounter them; but he knowing well, that in such cases, the first successe breedeth, either feare, or confidence, drew together with speed his readiest *Cohorts*, and made towardes them, slaying such as resisted, and pursuing the residue, (whom hee found stragled abroad) lest they should make head againe. And that a faithles and cloaked peace might not ghe, either the Captaine, or souldier, any time of idle repose, he disarmed all those whom he suspected, and hemmed them in with garrisons between *Amona* and *Sabrina*.

The first that began to stirre, were the *Icenians*, a strong people, and vnshaken with warres, as hauing of their owne accord

accord in former times, sought the *Romans* alliance and amity. The Countries also adioining neare vnto them, following their example, prepared themselves to fight, choosing a place, that was compassed about with a rude trench, which had a narrow entrance to impeach the comming in of horsemen. That fence the *Roman* Captaine, (although he wanted the strength of the *Legions* went about to force with the aide of the Confederates alone, and hauing placed his *Cohorts* in rankes, he set his Troopes of horsemen also in like readines: Then giuing the signe of battaile, hee assailed the Rampire, and brake it, disordering the *Britans*, who being stricken with a kind of remorse for their rebellious attempts, and seeing the passages stopped vp on all sides, shewed very great courage and valour in defending themselves (as it falleth out oft times, where extremity of danger it selfe takes away all feare of danger.) In this fight *M. Ostorius* the Lieutenants sonne was crowned with an oken garland, as an honourable reward for sauing a *Roman* Citizen.

Now by the slaughter of the *Icenians*, the residue of the *Britans* (who stood vpon doubtfull termes, as wauering betweene warre and peace) were well quieted, and *Ostorius* led his army against the *Cangi*, whose country hee spoyled and wasted, while the inhabitants durst not come into the field, but priuily surprised such as they found stragling behinde the *Roman* army; which was now come neare the sea coast, that lookes toward *Ireland*, when as certaine tumults stirred among the *Brigantes*, broght back the Generall, who thought it best, not to enter into any new action, before he had made all sure in those parts; howbeit, vpon his comming thither, some few of the *Brigantes* (that first began to take armes) being put to death, the residue were pardoned, and the country quieted. For the Generall wisely considering, that in such cases lenity sometimes preuileth, where force and rigor cannot, did seeke to win fauour

uour of the *Britans* by curteous vsage of such as either fled vnto him for protection, or else, by the fortune of warre, fell into his hands, sometimes pardoning them, sometimes rewarding them, and sometimes vsing them in seruice against their owne nation, as he did *Cogidunus* a *British* Prince, vpon whom he had bestowed certaine citties in free gift, according to an ancient custome among the *Romans*, who vsed euē Kings themselues for instruments of bondage. But the *Silures* could neither by cruelty, nor faire meanes be held in, so as the Generall saw there was no way to keepe them vnder, but with a garrison of *Legionary* souldiers; and to that end the *Colomie* at *Camalodunum* (consisting of a strong company of old souldiers) was brought into the subdued country, to defend it against such as should rebell, and to make the confederates more willing to live in obedience.

Then the army marched against the *Silures*, who besides their naturall boldnes, relied much vpon the strength of *Caractacus* their leader, a man that had waded through many dangers, and had bin fortunate in many aduentures, having gotten thereby such reputation, as he was preferred, before all the *British* captaines. But as in pollicie and knowledge of the country, he had an aduantage of the *Romans*: so perciuing himselfe to be vnequally matched in strength, he remooued the warre to the *Oraciones*, who entring into the action with him, (as fearing alike the *Roman* power) resolued ioyntly to hazard the chaunce of warre. And herevpon they prepared for battell, having chosen a place very cōmodious for theselues, & disaduantageable for their enemies. Then they went to the top of an hill, & where they found any easie passage vp, they stopped the way with heapes of stones, in maner of a rampire. Not farre off, ran a riuier with an vncertaine foord, where, vpon the bancke, a company of the best souldiers were placed, for a defence in the fore warde. The leaders went about,

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exhorting and encouraging the common souldiers, vsing such periwasions as might best fit their humors, and the present occasion; and *Caractacus* himselfe, coursing vp and downe, protested, that that day, and that battell, should be either the beginning of recovery of liberty, or of perpetuall seruitude. Then he called vpon the names of his ancestors, that had chased *Cesar* the *Dictator* out of the Ile, and had deliuered them from hatchets, and Tributes, & protected their wiues and children from shaine & violence. While he vittered these, or the like speeches, the people round about him made a noyse, and euery man swore, according to the religion of his country, that neither their enemies weapons, nor their owne wounds should make them to give ouer. That chearefull cry, terrified and astonied the *Roman* General, and the rather, when he considered, how he was couped in, hauing the riuier beneath him, the fort before him, the high hilles hanging ouer it, and all things on euery side threatening danger, and destruction to the assaylers. Howbeit his souldiers demaunded the battell, crying, that *There was nothing which valour could not overcome*. The *Prefects* and *Tribunes*, vsing the like speeches, added courage to the rest. Then *Ostorius* having viewed the places of difficult accesse, led his souldiers (being hot and eager of the fight) vnto the further side of the riuier, and from thence to the rampire, where, while they fought with their darts, they had the worst, but hauing broken downe the rude compacted heape of stones with a *Tefudo*, and both armies comming to handy strokes vpon equall aduantage, the *Britans* turned their backs, and ran to the hill top, the *Romans* pursuing the both with their light, & heauy armed souldiers, the one assayling with darts, & the other (as they marched thicke together,) breaking the rankes, and beating downe the barbarous people, who had neither headpeece, nor armour to defend themselues, so that being hedged in betwene the *Legionary* souldiers, and

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and the *Auxiliaries*, the greatest part of them were slaine in the place.

At this assault *Caractacus* his wife, and daughter were taken prisoners, and his Brethren ycelded to the ennemis; but himselfe driuen to extremity, escaped by flight into the Country of the *Brigantes*, hoping to receiue some aid of *Cartimandua* the Queene there. But, as it falleth out commonly with men in aduersitie, to be forsaken & left succorles, so instead of finding the relife which he expected, he fell into the danger, which he little doubted. For *Cartimandua*, either fearing her owne estate, or thinking to win favor of the Conqueror (as Princes oftentimes make vse of one anothers misfortunes to serue their owne turnes) detayned him in prison a while, & afterwards deliuered him to *Ostorius*, who was exceeding glad that he had gotten him, and forthwith sent him to *Rome*, as a prize of great worth, and the happy fruites of nine yeares seruice in the warres. The report of him was spread throughout the Iles & Prouinces adioyning, and his name was renowned in most parts of *Italy*, each man desiring to see him, who had so long time withstood, and contayned that power, which held all the world in awe, and obedience. The City of *Rome* for many dayes together was filled only with talke of him, & expectation of his comming, and the Emperor himselfe as a Conqueror, by extolling his owne wortliness, couertly added more glory to the conquered. The people assembled together, as it were, to see some notable and rare spectacle. The Emperors gard in armes were orderly placed in the field before the Caue. After this preparation made, the Prisoners, and *Trophies* were presented in this manner. First, the vassalls of *Caractacus* going formost, bowed their bodies to the people, as they passed, and seemed by their rusfull countenances to discouer their feare. The capti-sons, chaines, & other spoyles taken in the warre were carried after them. Then *Caractacus* his Brethren, his Wife, and

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and Daughters followed; and last of all came *Caractacus* himselfe. His body was naked, for the most part, and painted with the figures of diuersc beastes. He ware a chaine of Iron about his necke, and another about his middle. The haire of his head hanging downe in long locks (curled by nature) couered his backe, and shoulders, and the haire of his vpper lip being parted on both sides, lay vpon his breast. The rest of his body was shauen all ouer. Neither was his behauior lesse noted, then the strangenesse of his habit: For he neither hung downe his head, nor craued mercy (as the rest did) but went on boldy with a setled and sterne countenance, till he came before the Emperors Tribunall seate, and there standing still a while, he after spake these, or the like words.

If either my vertues in prosperity, had beene answerable to the greatnes of my estate, or the successe of my late attempts to the resolution of my Minde, I might haue come to this City, to haue bin entertained rather as a Friend, then as a Captiue to be gazed vpon; For it should haue bin no disgrace for the *Romans*, to haue admitted into society with them, a man royally discended, and a commaundour of many warlike Nations. But what cloud soever *Fortune* hath cast ouer my estate, she is not able to take from mee those things, which the heauens and Nature haue giuen mee: (that is,) the dignitie of my Birth, and the Courage of my Minde, which never fayled mee. I know it is a Cuslome among you, to make your *Triumphs*, the Spectacles of other Mens Miseries, and in this my Calamitie, as in a Mirror, you do now behold your owne glory. Yet know, that I was sometimes a Prince, furnished with strength of men, and abiliments of warres; and what meruaile is it, that I haue now lost them, since your owne experience hath taught you, that the euent of warres are variable, and uncertain? I thought, that the deepe Waters, which like a Wall enclose vs,

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“ (whom the heauens seeme to haue placed farre off, in another world by it selfe,) might haue bin a sufficient Defence for vs against forreine inuasion ; But I see now, that your Desire of souerainty admits no limitation, since neither the danger of an vnuowne sea, nor the Distance of place, can any longer warrant our safety and liberty. If you will needs command the whole world, then must all men become your vassalles, and liue vnder a forced obedience. For mine own part, as long as I was able, I made resistance, being unwilling to submit my necke to a forreigne Yoke. The law of naturall reason alloweth every man to defend himselfe, being assailed, and to withstand force, by force. Had I yeelded at the first, thy glory, and my mishap had not bin so renowned, but both of them would soone haue bin forgotten. Fortune hath done her worst, & we haue now nothing left vs but our liues, which if thou spare (hauing power to spill) thou shalt do that, which best becommeth a great Minde, and a noble Nature.

The Emperor hearing this speach, and wondring to see such boldnes and Constancie of Mind in a deiceted estate, pardoned both him, and the rest of his Company, commanding them to be vnbound, & so dismissed them. For many daies together, *Caractacus* his Fortune ministred matter of discourse to the Lordes of the Senate, who affirmed the spectacle of his Captiuitie to be no lesse honorable, then that of *Syphax* the *Numidian* King, ouer whome *P. Scipio* triumphed, or that of *Peres*, whom *Paulus Aemilius* vanquished, or of any other Kings, that had in former times bin taken in warre, and shewed to the people. Then publicke honors of triumph were decreed for *Ostorius*, whose fortunes being now at the highest, began afterwards to decline, by reaon that either *Caractacus* (the object of his valor) being remoued, he supposed he had made a full conquest, and therfore followed the service more carelessly: or else, for that the residue of the *Britans*, having compassion

copassion of the misfortune of so mighty a Prince, & being eager of reuenge, renewed the warre for they assayled the *Legionary Cohorts* which were left behind to build fortresses in the *Silures* Country, killed the *Campe-Maister*, and eight *Centurions*, besides some of the forwardest soldiers, and they had put al the rest to the sword, if speedy rescue had not come from the Villages and Forts adioyning. Diuerse other sallies they made, as time and place gaue the aduantage, preuailing sometimes by strength, sometimes by policy, and sometimes by chaunce. The Principall Motiuue, that induced the rest to take armes, was the example of the *Silures*, who were most resolutely bent, as being exasperated, by reason of a speech that the *Roman* Emperour had vsed, which was: That he would roote out the name of the *Silures*, as the *Sicambrians* had bin in former time. This made the bold & desperate to aduenture, as men knowing their destinie before hand. Many skirmishes they had, in surprising the scattered troopes of the *Roman* souldiers, and oftentimes with good successe, in taking rich booties, and insoners, and distributing the spoyles among their neighbors, by which meanes they drew them also to revolt.

In the meane tyme, *Ostorius* weareid with care and trauaile, ended his life. Whereof *Claudius* the Emperor being aduertised, sent *Aulus Didius* to take charge of the army in *Britannie*, where notwithstanding all the haste hee made, he found all out of frame: *Mantius Valens* with his Legion haing encountred the *Britans* with ill successe, which, by report of the *Handers*, was made greater the indeed it was, to terrifie the new Gouernor, who also made vse of the same policy to serue his owne turnes; for by increasing the fame of that, which hee heard reported, hee supposed, either to win greater praise, if he preuailed, or to purchase a more favourable censure of his actions, if hee miscarried. The *Silures* had made many roades into the subdued Country, wasting, and spoyleing round about,

when *Didius the Lieutenant*, vpon his first arriuall, entring into the field, restrained their outrage, and for a while kept them in some awe. After *Caractacus* was taken, *Venutius*, a Prince, faithfull to the *Romans*, and protected by them (so long as *Cartimandua* his wife and hee agreed together) vpon priuate discontentment began a new rebellion. For *Cartimandua* (whom the *Romans* speciallie fauoured for the deliuerie of *Caractacus*) abounding now in peace, wealth, and plenty (which are commonly the nurses of licentious liuing) fell in loue with *Velocatus* one of her husbands seruants, and forgetting in the end her owne honor, preferred him before *Venutius*, who being deeply touched with such an open iniury, & disgrace, raised a power, to expell her and her paramour out of the kingdome. The warre seemed at the first, to haue bin maintained betweene them-selues, and their priuate followers onely, till *Cartimandua*, by pollicy, had taken *Venutius* his Brother, and certaine of his kinsmen: and then the inhabitants round about, fearing the euent, and disdayning to be brought vnder the seruile Yoke of a Woman, declared themselues for *Venutius*, and with a choise number of youthfull and well experieced souldiers, invaded the Country: whereof *Didius* hauing timely intelligence, sent certaine *Cohorts* to encounter them. Herevpon ensued a sharp Conflict; the successe whereof was much doubted in the beginning, but in the end, the *Romans* preuailed. The like fortune also had *Cassius Nasica* with his *Legions*; For *Didius* himselfe, as a man striken in yecres, and fitter to direct, then execute, vsed (for the most part) the Ministry of other Men, keeping that, which his predecessors had gotten, and building only some few castles, and places of Defence within the Land, to win thereby, a fame of augmenting the office.

This was the state of the affaires in *Britannie*, when *Claudius* the Emperor died, leauing the *Roman Monarchie* to *Nero* his adopted sonne, who (after his first five yeares spent)

(spent) being giuen ouer to all kinds of vice, neglected the gouernement both at home and abroad, not daring to enter into any militare actiōs; & it was thought that he would haue reuoked the army out of *Britannie*, if very shame, in detracting from his fathers glory, and loosing that, which he had won, had not withheld him. About that time *Venerius* was Gouernor in *Britannie*, where the shortnes of his continuance, suffred him not to effect any great matter; for he dyed in the first yeare of his gouernement; and then was the Prouince assigned to *Suetonius Paulinus*, one of the most famous men of that age for militare matters. His good successe at his first entrance, in subduing Nations, & establishing garrisons (where need required) made him bold to assaile the Ile of *Mona*, (lying in the West part of *Britannie*) as hauing bin a common receptacle of Fugitives during the warre. In his passage thither he left the country behinde him (as he marched) vnfurnished in diuerse places, laying it thereby open to all oportunitie of annoy-ance. At his arriuall, the barbarous people rudely armed, standing vpon the shore, made shew of their purpose to resist: The Women in mourning attire (their haire about their eares) shaking burning fire-brands like *Furies* of hel, ran vp and downe, and the *Druydes* lifting vp their handes towardes Heauen, filled the ayre with cryes and curses; These *Druydes* were certain Priests had in great reverencē among the *Britans*. They kept their residence, for the most part, in shady and darke groues (as fittest places for devotion.) Among all trees, they most esteemed the oake, as hallowed, and without the which, they could not performe their superstitious rites. Their sacrifices were both priuate and publicke. They instructed the Youth of *Britannie*, & decided controuersies; ciuill, and criminall. If any man refused to stand to their award, he was forbiddē to be present at their sacrifices, which was accounted the greatest punishment that might be; for thereby he was reputed a notorious

notorious offender, exempt from the ordinary protection of the laws, vncapable of any preferment, & al men would flee his company. Amongst these Priests there was alwayes one, that had the chiefe authority, and he being dead, the worthiest of them that survived, succeeded in his place. If there seemed to be an equality of worthinesse among more then one, then the choise was made by plurality of voyces. At one certaine time in the yeare, they vsed to hold a Session in *Galla* in some consecrated place, where they heard and determined causes; For the superstition was first brought thither out of *Britannie*. They had immunitie from all maner of Tributes, and from service in the warres; by reason of which priuiledges, they drew to them many followers, whom they taught a great number of verses by heart, supposing it vnlawfull to commit those sacred things to writing; whereas in other matters, as well publike, as priuate, they vsed the *Creeke* letters. And this it is likely they did, either for that they would not haue the knowledge of their superstitious rites laid open to the common people (in whom ignorance seemeth to ingender a kinde of deuotion) or else for that they would haue their schollers to trust the more to their memory, while they wanted the help of writing. They preached, that the soule was immortall, and that after the death of one man, it went to another. By this perswasion they stirred vp men to vertue, and tooke away the feare of death (the maine obstacle of glorious aduentures.) Other things they taught also concerning the motion of the starres, the situation of the earth, and the power of their prophane gods. The strange behauour of these religious Priests, & the outcries of the people of *Mona* so amazed the *Roman* souldiers, that like men inchaunted, they stood still without motion, till the Captaine spake vnto them, & encouraged them to aduenture, not fearing a flocke of seely women, or frantick people, and then boldly giving the charge, he soone disordered and

and dispersed them, making himselfe master of the field; which done, the *Roman* souldiers entred the Townes, and placed garrisons there, felling the woods which the inhabitants superstitiously reputed holy, by reason of the Altars wherupon they sacrificed the blood of captiues, and propheticied of the successe of their owne affaires, by viewing the entralls of men, whom they had killed.

In the meane time *Prasutagus* King of the *Icenians*, a man renowned for his riches, did by his last will make the *Roman* Emperor his heire, (ioyntly with two of his daughters,) supposing, that thereby his kingdome, and family shoud haue bin maintained in good estate, and protected from violence after his death: all which fell out contrary to his hope; for his kingdome was made a prey to the souldiers, *Veraciu* his wife whipped, his daughters deflowered, such as were of his family made slaves, and the wealthiest men of his kingdome, either by open force, or furnised pretences, deprived of their goods, and dispossesled of their inheritance. Besides that, *Seneca* one of *Neroes* counsellors hauing forced diuise of the better sort of the *Britians*, to take great summes of money of him vpon vsury, did then, for his priuate gaine, exact the payment of the principall, vpon a sodaine, to the vter vndoing of his debtors: and *Decianus Caus* the Procurator in *Britannie*, renewed the Confiscation of their goods, which *Claudius* the Emperor had pardoned. The souldiers placed in the Colonie at *Camulodunum*, had thrust the owners and auncient inhabitants out of their houses, terming them slaves, & drudges, and abusing them in all reproachfull manner. The Temple erected in the honor of *Cladus*, was an execore, and continuall burden vnto them, while the Priests *Augustales* that attended there, wasted the wealth of the inhabitants vnder the pretext of religion. To these common grieuances of the afflicted people, the present occasion seemed to offer meane of redresse, while the *Roman* Generall was

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was making warre in *Mona*. Whervpon they resolved to take armes, inciting the *Trinobantes* and other nations (that were not wholly brought vnder subiection) to do the like. Then they began to discourse of the miseries of bondage, to lay their iniuries together, aggrauating them by their owne Constructions, and complayning, that their patience had profited them nothing, but to draw heauier burdens. vpō them, as Men that would gently beare: That whereas in former times they had onely one Commander, now there was two thrust vpon them, the *Lieutenant* to sucke their blood, and the *Procurator* their substance, whose dis- agreement was the vexation of the subiect, and agreement, their viter vndoing, while the one burdened them with Souldiers and Captaines, the other with wrongs, and in- dignities: that the lust and couetousnes of these their ene- mies, laid hold vppon all persons without exception: that though in the field he that spoyleth, bee contynually the stronger, yet themselues were by Cowards, and weaklings (for the most part) dispossest of their houses, bereft of their childe, enioyned to yeld souldiers for other mes be- hoofe, as though they were such a kind of people, as knew how to doe any thing else, saue only to die for their owne country; For otherwise there was but a handfull of Souldiers come ouer, if they did but reckon their owne number, cōsidering withall, that *Germany* had already shake off the Yoke, hauing no *Ocean* Sea, but a riuer to defend it: that the causes then mouing them to take armes, were iust, and honorable; namely, to recouer their Liberty, and to defend their Parents, Wiues, Children, and Country; whereas the Romans had shewing to prouoke them to warre, but their owne couetousnes, and wanton lust, and were likely enogh to depart (as *Julius Cesar* had done) if themselues would imitate the virtues of their progenitors, and not be dismayed with the doubtfull euent of one skirmish, or two, seeing that Men in misery haue commonly more courage (then

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other times) and more constancy to continue: and now the heauens themselues seemed to pity their poore estate, by sending the *Roman* Gouvernour out of the way, & con- fining the army (as it were) into an other Ilands; by which meanes, oportunity of reuenge, and hope of libertie was of- fered: and finally, that being assembled to devise, and deli- berate together, they had obtained the hardest point in an action of that nature, wherein it were more danger to bee taken consulting, then doing. With these and the like spe- ches they stirted vp one another, each man laying open his owne particular greeuances, and adding them to the com- mon cause.

About this time, diuerse prodigious signes were noted, to portend the subuersion of the *Roman* towne, as namely, an Image of *Victory* falling downe reverised at *Camaloden*, Strange noyses sounding in the ayre: Strange apparitions seene in the sea: The *Ocean* bloody in shew: and the print of Mens bodies vpon the sandes. Diuise constructions were made of these things as ominous, whether that they proceed of some nat. all causes (though not alwaies ob- served,) or else that they do necessarily foregoe the ruine & change of great States. Howbeit commonly in such cases, Mens Minds do misgiue them, while they frame the future euent of things answerable to their owne fearefull imagi- nations; and great alterations falling out sometimes after like accidents, they superstitiously suppose them, to be al- waies the certaine fore-runners of destruction. The appre- hension of these thinges, at the first, strooke the *Romans* with greater seare, by reason of the absence of their Generall, and therevpon they required the aide of *Catus Decianus* the *Procurator*, who sent a small company badly armed, to reinforce the garrison. The old soldiers that had bin left within the Towne (although few in number) yet trusting to the franchise of the Temple, and not doubting the secret conspiracy of their *Confederates*, were in a maner careles,

as in times of peace, following their pleasures, and making no prouision for defence. The *Britans*, hauing in the meane time, taken armes vnder the Conduct of *Uuaica*, a Lady of the blood of their Kings (for in matter of gouernement they made no difference of sex) and being informed of the state of the *Colone*, determined first to assaile the Townes and Forts in their passage thither. The good successe they had in those attempts, made them desirous to invade the *Colone* it selfe, and *Uuaica* as their leader, being a woman of a great spirit, and comely personage, (apt attelled in a loole gowne of duncle colours, with a golden chaine about her necke and a light speare in her hand standing vpon a heape of Turues, the better to be seene (her daughters on each side of her) with a shrill voyce uttered these, or the like words.

It is no new custome for the *Britans* to make warre vnder the leading of women, ennobled by their birth and descent; the examples of former times can well witness the experience thereof. Howbeit at this present, I will disclame all titles of dignity, and prerogatives of blood: and what difference soever there is in our estates, yet shall our fortune, in this action, be indifferent and common to vs both. I shall not need to repeate that, which you all know but too wel: namely, what miseries we haue endured vnder the tiranny of this proud nation. You haue had the triall both of libertie and bondage, & I doubt not but you find now, how much the one is to be preferred before the other; & howsoever some of you heretofore haue for private respects, inclined to the *Roman* gouernors, as fauorers of their usurped souerainty: yet I suppose you will nowe confesse with mee, that freedome in a poore estate, is better then golden setters. For what abuse can there be named so vile, or indignity so disgracefull, that hath not bin offered vs, without respect of degree, age, or sex? wee till our grounds, and sweat for other men, that reap the sweets of our

our trauailes; the wealth that wee gather to maintaine our selues, and our families, is by other men wastfully and riotously spent; we haue nothing of our owne, but what they leaue vs, and nothing left vs, but labour and vexation; our bodies and estates being consumed, to satisfie their ambition and covetousnes; Wee haue not so much as our heads toll-free: so narrowly are we sifted, from the highest to the lowest. Other subdued nations are yet, by death, freed from bondage, but we, euen after death, seeme to liue still in thralldome, while we are enforced to pay tribute, as well for the dead, as the living. What are we a nation so contemptible, that we can serue to no other vse, then to be slaves? or so vnhappy, that death it selfe cannot acquite vs from being miserable? How long shall we giue way to our owne wrongs? Shall we hope for reformation of these abuses? Nay, we haue hoped too long, and by patient bearing of one iniurie, we haue drawne on another. Why should we not rather seeke to redresse them? for if we enter into due consideration of our selues, what are the *Romans* more then we? Our bodies are as strong as theirs: our numbers greater. We haue agility of body, (our women no lesse then our men) to run to leape, to swinme, and to performe all warlike exercises; for which (indeed) we are naturally more fit, then for the spade, plough, or handy crafts; And howsoever the *Romans* may seeme fortunate by the folly, or weaknes of other nations, yet are they not comparable vnto vs, whom nature hath framed to indure hunger, cold, and labour, and to be content with things necessary onely. For to vs euery herbe and roote is meat, eachmer, and spring yeeldeth vs drinke, while wee seeke no further then to appease hunger and quench thirst; each tree serues for shelter against stormes in winter, and for shadow against the parching heate of summer; wee need no other beds, then the earth, nor couering, then the heauens; whereas they must haue their ioynts supplied with

“ hot baths, sweete oyntments, and soft couches, and their bodies pampered with wine, dainty fare, and all kinde of effeminate licenes and delicacy. These be the properties wherein they imitate their master Nero, who hath onely the shape of a man, being indeed a woman, or rather, neither man nor woman, but a monstur of nature, a singer, a fiddler, a stage-player, a murtherer, and one that excelleth other men as faire in vice, as he doth in preheminence of degree. Besides all this, the cause of our warre is iust, and the diuine powers (that fauour Justice,) haue made our first attempts prosperous: and me thinketh, that the necessity of our cause, were able to make, euen cowards, valiant. Your auncelors could make head agaist *Julius Caesar*, and the Emperors *Caligula* & *Clendius*. The *Germans* haue latelee freed themselves by that memorable ouerthow of the Roman Legions vnder the conduct of *Quintilius Varus*, and shall not we, (who scorre to be reputed inferiour to the *Germans* in valor) be confident in our owne strength, and boldly aduenture: considering, that if we preuaile, we recover our lost liberty, if we be forced to retire, wee haue woods, hills, and marshes for our refuge, and if we die, we doe but sell those liues with honor, which we cannot possele with safety. For mine owne part, you shall finde mee no less ready to execute, (when time serues,) then I am nowe to aduise and exhort you: my selfe hauing determined, either to vanquish, or die; If any of you be otherwise minded, then live, and be slaues still.

With these and the like speeches, she inflamed the hearts that were already kindled, and persuading the *Britans* to pursue their ennemis, as Dogs and Woollues do scatfull Hares and Foxes, she let slip out of her lap a quick Hare, at whose running through the Campe, the *Britans* shouted, apprehending it as a matter ominous, and fore-signifying the *Romans* flight. And therevpon they cryed that they might be speedily led to the *Colerie* it selfe, (as the seat of

their

their slauery) which at their first comming they surprised, killing, spoiling, and consuming all with sword, and fire, except the Temple onely, into which the souldiers fled as a *desiliary*, though it could not long protec them from the violence of the furious Multitude. *Petilius Cerealis* the *Lament* of the *Ninth Legion*, comming to succour the garrison, had all his footmen slaine, and himselfe with a few horse hardly escaped. *Catus the Procurator* knowing himselfe to bee odious to the *Britans*, (by reason of the extortions he had committed in his office,) fled secretly into *Galatia*. But *Suetonius*, vpon intelligence of the revolt, returned out of *Momma*, and led his Army, with some difficultie, towards *London* (a place not knowne at that time by the name of a *Colerie*, but famous onely, for concourse of merchants and traffike. There he stayed a while, as doubting what course to take: the small number of his forces, and the ill successe of *Cerealis* making him more wary; and he supposed it would be a worke well worth his labor, if with the losse of ony Towne, hee could preserue the rest, that were likely to revolt; Whervpon, furnishing his defective Companies with such able men as were then in the Towne, although the *Londeners* with teares implored his aide, and desired his abroad there for their defence: yet he marched forward, leauing behind him all such, as either by reason of their age, sex, or other infirmitie could not follow, or else, for losse of the place, (as beeing bred, and borne there,) would not abandon it. The Towne being thus weakelio garded, was taken by the *Britans*, and the people therin pitall to the sword. The like Calamite befell the free Towne of *Verulamium*, by reason that Diverse of the *Britans*, finding their owne strength, forsooke their Forts, and assailed the most notable and wealthy places, enriching themselves with the spoile of their ennemis, whom they hanged, burned, and crucified, exercising all kinds of Crueltie, that a Minde enraged with desire of reuenge could devise.

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deuise. They tooke no prisoners, either to preserue for ran-
some, or to exchange, according to the lawes of warre, but
slue both Citizens and Confederates, to the number of a-
bout 70000. *Suetonius* with the *Fourteenth Legion*, secon-
ded by the Standard-bearers of the *Twentyseventh*, and some
Auxiliaries, made haste to encounter the *Britans*, and re-
solued without further delay, to try the chance of a set bat-
taile. Then he pitched, in a place that had a narrow en-
trance, with a thicke wood for a defence behinde him, and
a faire wide plaine before his Campe. The *Legionary* sol-
diers were marshalled together in thicke ranks, the light
harnessed inclosing them about, and the horsemen making
wings on each side. *Paetus Posthumus* the Campe Mai-
ster of the *Second Legion*, was appointed to lead the fore-
ward, but he contemptuously refused the charge.

In the meane time the *Britans* ranged abroad in great
troopes, triumphing for their late good successe, and be-
ing encouraged by the example of *Voadica* their Generall,
were fiercely bent to assaile the *Roman* Campe, suppos-
ing now, that no force was able to resist them. And they
had brought their wiues with them, and placed them in
waggons about the vtmost parts of the plaine, to be the
beholders of their valiant Acts, and witneses of their ex-
pected victory. *Suetonius* being now ready to joyne bat-
taile, though he perceiued that his souldiers, were not much
dismaied with the sight of so great numbers scattered vpon
the plaine: yet he supposed it not vnecessary to vse some
speach to them, by way of exhortation, and therefore began
in this manner.

I cannot now vse many words to exhort you; the time
permits it not, and the present occasion requireth rather
deedes then words. Yet let not our sinal number discourage
you, considering that your ancestors, with a smaller num-
ber, haue effected greater matters, and that where many *Le-*
gions haue bin in the field, a few souldiers haue carried a-
way

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way the victory; What a glory shall it be for you then, if
with so small a power, you can purchase the praise of a
whole army? There is no feare of Ambush; the Woods
gard you behinde, and on the Plaine before you lieth your
enemies Campe, wherein you may behold more women,
then men, and the men themselues, for the most part, vnat-
med, and not likely to endure the points and strokes of our
weapons, which they haue so often felt to their smart. It
stands you now vp, to approue your selues, the same men
you are reputed to be. This is the time, either to recouer
that you haue lost, or, to loose that, which you shall never
recouer. You fight now, not for Honour onely, but for
Honour and Life. Remember that you are *Romans*, whose
glory it is, to doe, and suffer great things. The Fortune of
this battaile will either giue vs peaceable possession of that
our fore fathers haue wonne, or for euer deprive vs of it;
What shall become of you, if you be taken, the woefull ex-
perience of your Countrimen, most miserably massacred
before your eies may sufficiently testify. Reuenge there-
fore both their wrongs, and your owne, and no doubt, but
the gods themselues (who never leaue cruelty vnpunished)
will assit you. It is better for vs to die in this action, then by
yelding, or flying, to out-hue the praise of our owne wor-
thines. But whether wee liue or die, *Britanny* shalbe ours;
for if we liue, and recouer it, our posteriure euer after shalbe
able to defend it, and though they should not, yet shall our
bones keep continuall possession of it. Take courage ther-
fore, & feare not the loud and vaine shrowts of a disorde-
red multitude, but boldly giue the assault, and keeping
your selues close together, pursue the fight, without think-
ing of the spoile till you haue made a full end. For the vi-
ctory once gotten, all things else will, of themselues, fall to
your share.

With these, or the like woordes, the old souldiers were
picked forward; and *Suetonius* perceiving it, gaue the
signall

signall of Battell. The *Legions* kept the strait, as a place of defence, till the *Britans* had spent their darts: and then they call'd out into the plaine (the *Auxiliaries* and the horsemen making Way,) and pressing into the thickest troopes of the barbarous people, who being vnable to endure the fiercenes of the assault, turned their backs, thinking to sauue themselves by flight; But by reason their waggons placed about the plaine had hedged in the passages on all sides, few of them escaped; The residue, as well Women as Men, were put to the sword, and their dead bodies (mingled with the carcases of their Horses and Chariots) were heaped one vpon another. The number of the *Britans* slaine in that battaile was reported to be about 80000, and of the *Romans* about 400. only, and not many more wounded in the Conflict. This daies seruice was renowned among the *Romans*, as comparable to those of ancient times in the free Common-wealth. *Voxdica* disdayning to fall into hir enemies hands, ended hir life by poyson: and *Publius Posthumus* seeing the good successe of the Fourteenth and Twentieth *Legions*, (for that by disobeying the Generall, contrary to the Discipline of warre, he had defrauded his own *Legion* of their part of the glory in the affi-
gn,) for very griefe slew himselfe.

Then *Suetonius* hauing gathered together his dispersed troupes, certaine *Legionary* souldiers and *Cohorts* of *Auxiliaries* were sent him out of *Germany*, to renforce the garris-
sons, and to make an end of the warre: Some of the *Britans* that either openly resisted, or else stood doubtfully assem-
ed, were put to the sword, and some that escaped the sword, died of famine for lacke of corne, (a calamity incident to them, as to a people giuen rather to warre, then husbandry:) The rest found meanes to releeue themselues by the *Roman* prouision; And though some ouertures were made for a Treaty of peace: yet they would not harken thereto, for that they doubted their safety, imagining that their guil-
tines

tines, of the rebellion, had excluded frō al hope of pardons, & they much feared the priuat displeasure of the *Lieutenātē* who (thogh otherwise a singular man: yet seemed to shew too much hauty and hard dealing towards them, that yeelded themselues, and in some sort, vnder pretext of the publike seruice, to reuenge his own iniuries. Besides, *Julius Classicianus* (who was sent to succeed *Catus*) being at va-
riance with *Suetonius*, had giuen out, that a new *Lieutenant* was comming, and that he was such a one, as being voyde of malice, or the pride of a Conquerer, would be ready to receiue into fauour, all such as would yeeld themselues. He wrote letters also to *Rome*, signifying to the Senate, that they should looke for no end of the warre in *Britannie*, so long as *Suetonius* continued the gouernment there, and that the ill successe, which he had in the seruice, was to be attributed to his owne ill carriage of himself, & the good, to the fortune of the common weale. Hereupon *Nero* sent *Polycletus* a *Libertine* into *Britannie*, to examine, & report the state of the affaires there, and to interpose his authority as a meane to reconcile the *Lieutenant*, and the *Procura-
tor*, and to win the *Britans* to imbrace peace. At his landing in the Ile, the *Roman* souldiers there seemed to feare and reuerence him; and the causes of his comming were di-
uersly reported at the first. But the *Britans* derided him, for (as men being borne free) they knew not, til that time, the power of *Libertines* (men made free) but rather maruailed, that a Captaine, and an armie, which had atchiued so great an enterprise, could be brought to obey, and yeeld an ac-
count of their actions, to a base bondslauke (as they termed him.)

These things, howsoeuer they were censured by others, yet they were reported to *Nero*, in such manner, as the re-
porters thought might best content him; and *Suetonius* after the losse of some of his shipping, was commaunded (the warre being not yet finished) to deliuer vp the army to *Pe-
tronius*

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erinus *Turpilianus*, who had a little before giuen ouer his *Consulship*. He was a Man of a soft spirit, and being a sträger to the *Britans* faults, was the more tractable, & ready to remit the; by which meanes, hauing cōposed the former troubles, he delivered vp his charge to *Trebellius Maximus*, whose vnsuitesse for action, and want of experiance in militare matters, gaue the more boldnesse to the *Britans*, that began now to discouer the defects of their Gouernors, having learned both to flatter and dissemble, in conforming themselues to the present times and occasions, for their aduantage, and for the most part, yeelding themselues to those pleasures, whicli Security vseth to engender, even in Mindes well disposed by Nature. For *Trebellius*, besides his insufficiency, abused the authority of his place, to enrich himself, by polling the Common Souldiers, and *Roscius Cœlius* a Lieutenant of the Twentieth Legion, whetted them on against him, as against his auncient enemey; so that in the end they brake out into hainous termes, the one obiecting matter of crime against the other: *Trebellius* charged *Cœlius* with factious behauior, *Cœlius* againe *Trebellius* with beggering the *Legions*; and the discord betwixt them grew so farre, that *Trebellius* being despised, as well by the Aydes, as the *Legions* (both of them forting themselues to *Cœlius* his side) was in great feare of his life: the danger whereof he sought to preuent, rather by flying away, then by executing any exemplary Justice vpon offenders. In the meane tyme, the Souldiers neglecting the ancient discipline of Warre, fell to Mutinie and all kind of riot, as men that had rather be doing Ill, then doing Nothing. And afterwards, taking againe his former place, as it were by capitulation, he seemed to gouerne, onely at the discretion of his souldiers, who finding his Weaknes and want of ludge-ment to vse his authority, took vpon them to do what they listed; and herewith also the Lieutenant himselfe seemed contented, as being now giuen ouer altogether to a flouth-

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full kind of life (terining it peace and quietnes) for which, the ciuili discord at that tyme betwixt *Galba*, *Otho*, and *Vitellius*, ministred some colour of excuse. About this tyme the Fourteenth Legion (famous for many great attempts, and growing now more insolent then the rest,) was reuolued out of the Ile, to haue beene sent to the Streights about the *Caspian* sea, though afterwards vpon intelligence of the revolte in *Gallia*, and *Spaine*, (wher *Julius Vindex* tooke armes against *Nero*) it was retained about the City of *Rome* for a safegard to those parts. In the turbulent tyme that ensued *Neroes* death, it tooke part with *Otho* against *Vitellius* at the battaile neare *Bebriacum*, where *Otho* was overthowne; and *Vitellius* after the victory, suspecting the souldiers of that Legion, (as knowing their great stomacks and ill affection towards him) thought it expedient to ioyne to them the *Batavian Cohorts*, that by reason of the inuertere hatred between the, they might one oppose the other, and himself in the meane tyme remaine more secure.

Then *Vettius Bolanus*, a man not much vnlke *Trebellius*, in some respects, was sent ouer by *Vitellius*, during the tyme of whose Gouernment, the like disorders continued still in the Campe, sauing that *Bolanus*, by the mildenes of his nature (being not touched otherwise in his reputation) had purchased loue, and good will, instead of feare and obediencie. In his tyme diuerse choise men of warre taken out of the *Legions* in *Britannie*, were conducted to *Rome* by *Hordeonius Flaccus* in ayde of *Vitellius*. But when *Vespasian* made warre for the Empire, *Bolanus* refused to send *Vitellius* any succor, by reason that the *Britans* finding the *Roman* state encumbred with ciuill dissention, began to reuolue in diuerse places of the Ile, and some of them also shewed themselues openly in fauor of *Vespasian*, who had carried himselfe honorably in *Britannie*, when *Claudius* was there, & seemed now, by many ominous predictions, to be a man specially marked for the Empire.

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The Death of *Vitellius* quenching the flame of ciuill broyles among the *Romans*, confirmed the possession of the Empire to *Vespasian*, who shewed the care, and respect he had of the Ile of *Britannie*, by employing great captaines and good souldiers there. The Lieutenantship was then assignd to *Petilius Cerealis*, a man that had giuen good prooffe of his sufficiency in former seruices. Vpon his first entrance into office, he inuaded the Country of the *Brigantes* (the most populous state of the whole Prouince) the greatest part whereof, (after many bloody Battailes) was either conquered, or wasted, and the hope of the *Britans* greatly abated, whenas *Julius Frontinus* (whose reputation was nothing impaired by the same of his predecessor) took vpon him the charge, which he afterwards executed with great Commendation, in subduing the strong and warlike nation of the *Silures*, among whom he seemed to fight, not onely with men (whose strength and valor was able to make opposition against his attempts) but also with mountaines, streights, and places of very difficult accessse.

In this estate *Julius Agricola* (hauing bin trained vp for the most p.c.t, in the *British* warre) did find the Prouince, when he as successor to *Cerealis*, entred into the Gouernement. He crossed the narrow Seas about the midst of summer; at which time, as though the season of the yeare had bin past to begin a new Warre, the *Roman* souldiers attened an end of their trauaile, and the *Britans*, a beginning of annoyance to their enemies. The *Ordouices* a litle before he landed, had almost cut in peeces a troope of horsemen, that lay vpon their borders. Vpon which attempt, the country being awaked, as desirous of warre, allowed the example, and some stayed to see how the new Lieutenant would take it. *Agricola* in the meane time, although the summer was spent, and the Bands lay dispersed in the Prouince (his souldiers hauing fullie presumed of rest for that yeare, & diuers officers of the army being of opiniō, that it were

were better to keep, and aslure the places suspected, then to make any new attempt:) yet (al this notwithstanding) he resolved directly to encounter the danger, & gathering togither the Ensignes of the *Legions*, and some few *Auxiliaries* (because the *Ordouices*, durst not descend into indifferent ground) himselfe first of all, (to giue others like courage,) marched vp to begin the assault. And hauing in that conflict destroyed almost the whole Nation of the *Ordouices*, and knowing right wel, that Fame must with Instance bee followed, (for as the first should fall out, so the rest would succeede:) he deliberated to conquer the Iland of *Mona*, from the possession wherof, *Paulinus* had bin formerly revokd by the generall rebellion of *Britannie*; But shippes being then wanting (as in an enterprise not intended before) the pollicy and resolutenesse of the Captaine, devised a speedy passage. For he commaunded the most choise of the Aids (to whom all the shallows were knowne, and who (after the vse of their Country) were able to swim in their armor if need were) to lay aside their carriage, and putting ouer at once, suddainely to inuade them. VVhich thing so amazed the inhabitants (who supposed that the *Romans* would haue stayed a certaine time for shippes, and such like prouision by Sea,) that now beleeving, nothing could be hard or invincible to Men, which came so minded to make warre, they humbly intreated for peace, and yeelded the Iland. Thus *Agricola* at his first entrance into office (which time others vsed to consume in vaine ostentation, or ambitious seeking of Ceremonies) entring withall into labors and dangers, became famous indeed, and of great reputation. Howbeit he abused not the prosperous proceeding of his affaires, to vanity, or brauing in speeches; for he esteemed it an Action not worthy the name of a Conquest, to keep in order, onely persons subdued before; neither decked he with Laurel his letters of aduertisement, but by stopping and suppressing the tame of his doings,

hee greatly augmented it, when men began to discourse, vpon what great presumptions of future successe, he should make so light an account of so great Actions, already performed. As touching the Ciuell Gouvernement, *Agricola*, knowing how the Prouince stood affected, and beeing taught also by experience of others, that armes auayle hule to settle a new conquered state, (if violence and wrongs be permitted,) determined at the first to cut off all cautes of warre and rebellion. And beginning at home, he first of all reformed his owne house, (a point of more hardnesse to some men, then to gouerne a Prouince.) He committed no maner of publike affaires to bondman, or *Liberarie*. He receiued no souldier neere his person, vpon priuate affection of partiall suiters, nor vpon commendation, or intreay of *Centurions*, but elected the best, and most seruiceable. He would looke narrowly into all things, yet not exact all things to the vtmost: light faults he would pardon, and the great, seuerely correct, not alwaiers punishing offendours, but oft times satisfied with repentence, choosing rather, not to preferre to office, such as were likely to offend, then after the offence, to condemne them. The augmentation of Tribute and corne, he tempered, with equall dividing of burdens, cutting away those petty extortions, which gricued the *Britans* more then the tribute it self. For the poore people, in former times were constrained, in a mockery, to waite at the barne doors, which were lockt against the, and first to buy corne, & after sell at a low price. Seuerall waies also, & farre distant places had bin assigned them by the Purveyors appointments, for carrying provisiōs from the neerest standing camps, to those which were farre off, and out of the way, (petty officers in the meane time making a gaine therof, by sparing some, and charging others at their pleasure) so as that, which lay open to al, & at hand, was turned only to the priuate profit of a few. By repressing these abuses in his first yeere, a good opinion was

was conceiued of the peace, which either by the negligence, or partialt of former *Lieutnants* was now no lelle feare, then warre. In times of seruice hee was very painsfull, & oft times more aduenturous in his owne person, then was fitt for a Generall; for himselfe would alwayes appoint his ground for pitching the camp, and also be the first man in prouiding the Thickets, Bogges, or any other places of danger, not sassing any corners or secrete harbors vnsearched, but wastling and spoyleing euery where with suddaine incursions and assualts. Howbeit, when by these meanes he had terrisfied the *Britans*, then would he againe spare & forbear, as hoping thereby to allure them to peace; wherupon many Cities (which before that time stode vpon termes of equality) gaue hostages, and meekely submitted themselves, receiuing garrisons, and permitting the *Romanes* to fortifie; a werke perfourmed, with such foresight and judgement, as nothing was euer attempted against them, while he continued in office, whereas before that time, no new fortisfied place in all *Britannie* escaped vnassayled. Thus farre had *Agricola* proceeded, when the newes came, that *Vespasian* was dead, and *Titus* his sonne inuested in the Empire.

The winter ensuing was spent in a most profitable, and politike devise. For, whereas the *Britans* were rude, and dispersed, and therefore prone vpon every occasion to Warre, *Agricola*, that he might induce them by pleasures to quietnes and rest, exhorted them in priuate, and commaunded his Souldiers to help them to build Temples, Houses, and Places of publike resort, commanding such as were forward therein, and checking the slow and Idle Persons, seeming thereby, to impose a kinde of necessitie vpon them, while every man contended to gaine the *Lieutnants* Good-will. Moreouer, the Noble-mens sonnes he tooke and instructed in the Liberal Sciences, preferring the wits of the *Britans* before those of the students in *Gal-*
lis,

The first Booke of

as the Britans also themselues being now curious to attain the eloquence of the Roman Language, whereas they lately reieected the speech. After that, the Roman Attire grew to be in account, and the Gorne much vsed among them: and so by little and little, they proceeded to those common prouocations of vices, namely sumptuous Galleries, hote baths, and exquisite banquetinges; which things the ignorant people termed ciuility, though it were indeed a badge of their Bondage.

In the third yeere of his Gouvernement he discouered new Countries, wasting all before him, till he came to the firth of Taur. Which thing so terrified the Northern Britans, that although the Roman Army, had bin toyled and weareied with many Sharp Conflicts, yet they durst not as saile it; wherby the Romans had the more leisure to encamp themselues, and to fortify: wherein *Agricola* was either so skilfull, or so fortunate, that no Castle, planted by him, was either forced by strength, or vpon Conditions surrendered, or (as not defensible) forsaken. In all these actions *Agricola* never sought to drawe to himselfe, the glory of any exploit done by an other, but were he Centurion, or of other degree, that had atchiued it, he would faithfully witness the fact, and yeeld him alwaies his due commendation.

The fourth yeare of his office was spent in viewing, and ordering that, which he had ouer-runne: and if the valiant mindes of his souldiers, and the glorie of the Roman name could haue so permitted it, there shoulde haue bin no neede to haue sought other limites of Britannie, then were at that time discouered. For Glota and Bodotria, two armes of the two contrary seas, shooting mightily into the land, are onely diuided a funder by a narrow partition of ground, which passage was guarded and fortified with garrisons and castles; so that the Romans were now absolute Lords of all on this side, hauing cast their ennemis, as it were into an other Iland.

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The fift yeare of the warre, *Agricola* subdued with manie and prosperous conflicts, strange nations, before that time vnde knowne, and furnished with forces that part of Britannie, which lieth against Ireland; And this he did, more for hope of aduantage, then feare of danger. For if Ireland might haue bin wonne, lying (as it doth) betweene Britanny and Spaine, & cōmodious also for Galvia; it would aply haue vnted to the vse, & profit one of the other, those strongest members of the Empire. The nature, & fashions of the Irish, did not then much differ from the Britis, but the Ports & hauen Townes in Ireland were more knowne and frequented, by reason of greater resort thither of merchants. *Agricola* having received a Prince of that country, (driven thence by civil dissencion) did vnder colour of curtey and friendship retaine him, till occasion should serue to make vse of him. It was afterwaides reported, that with one *Leym*, and some few Aydes, Ireland might then haue bin wonne, and possessed, and that it would haue bin also a meane to haue kept Britannie in obedience, if the Roman forces had bin planted each where, and libertie, (as it were) cleane banished out of sight.

Now in the summer following, because a generall rising in armes, of all the further Nations beyond Bodotria, was feared, (the pailages being all beset with the power of the barbarous people,) he manned a fleet to search the Creeks, & harbors of the ample region beyond it, hacking them first of all with a Nauy, and with a goodly shew bringing warre, both by land and sea. And oft times it chanced, that the horsemen and footemen, and the sea-souldier met, and made merry in the same Camp, each man extolling his owne prowesse and aduentures, and making their vautes and comparisons souldier-like, some of the woods and high mountaines that they had passed: others of dangers of Rocks and Tempests that they had endured: the one, of the Land and the Ennemy defeated: the other, of the Ocean assayed

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assayed

assayed, and subdued. The *Britans*, (as by the Prisoners it was vnderstood,) were much amazed at the sight of the Navy supposing that (the secrets of their Sea, being now disclosed) there remained no refuge for them, if they were overcome. Whereupon the *Caledonians*, arming with great preparation, and greater Name, (as the maner is of matters vndeowne) began to assaile their enemies *Cailes*; and some of the *Roman* Captaines (which would seeme to be wise, being indeed but Cowards) counsellel the Generall to retre on this side *Bodotria*, and rather to depart of his owne accord, then to be driven backe with shame. In the meane season, *Agricola* had knowledge, that the *Britans* meant to diuide themselves, and to giue the onset in severall companies; Whereupon lest hee should be enclosed about, and intrapped, either by their multitude, or by their skil in the Paflages, hee marched also, with his army diuided in three parts: which when it was knowne to the *Caledonians*, they changed advise on the suddaine, and vniiting their forces together, ioynly assaulted, by night, the *Ninth Legion*, as being of weakest resilliance: and hauing flaine the watch, (partly a sleep, and partly amazed with feare) they broke into the Campe, and were fighting within the trenches, when *Agricola*, hauing vnderstood by spies, what way the *Britans* had taken, and following their foot-steps, commaunded the lightest horsemen, and footmen to play vpon their backs, and to maintaine the skirmish. When the day drew neare, the glittering of the Ensignes dazeled the eyes of the *Britans*, who being daunted with feare of danger on each side, began to draw backe, and the *Romans*, like Men that were now out of perill of their liues, did fight more chearfully for their honour, freshly assaying the *Britans*, and driving them to their owne gates, where in the very straites the Conflict was sharp and cruell: in the end, the *Britans* were forced to flee, whilste the *Roman* armies scuerally pursued them, contending with a kind

kind of emulation, the one to seeme to haue helped the other, and the other to seeme to haue needed no help. Vpon the successe of this battell, the *Roman* soldiers presuming, that to their power all things were easie, and open, cried to the Generall to leade them into *Caledonia*, that with a course of continuall Conquests they might find out the vtmost liimits of *Britaine*. Now such as before the Battell were so wary and wile in aduenturing, waxed forward enough after the event, and grew to speake gloriously of themselues; [such is the hard condition of warre; if ought fall out well, all challenge a part: misfortunes commonly are imputed to one] Contrariwise the *Britans* presupposing that not true Valor, but the cunning of the Generall, by vsing the occasion, had caried away the Victory, abated not much their woned courage, but armed their youth, transported their children and wiues into places of safety, and sought by assemblies, and religious rites, to establish an association of the Citties together. And so for that yeaer, both parties, as enemies, departed incensed away.

In the beginning of the next summer, *Agricola* sending his Navy before, (which by spoyleing in sundry places, should induce a greater, and more vncertayne terror,) followed himselfe with his army by land, hauing drawne to his party some of the valiantest *Britans* (whome by long experiance in peace, he had found most faithful) and so arrived at the Mount *Grampus*, where the *Britans* had lodg'd themselves before. For they were not altogether dejected with the vnfortunate euent of the former battell, but now, as Men prepared for all chances, they attended nothing else but reuenge, death, or seruite; & being taught at the length that common danger, must be repelled with mutuall concord) by leagues and ambassages, they had assembled the power of all the Citties together, in number aboue thirtie thousand armed Men (the view being taken) besides a great company of youth (which daily flocked to them)

them) and lusty old men renowned in warre, and bearing the badges due to thir honour, at what time *Caesar*, for Virtue, and Bravoure, the proudiest Man of all the Leaders, seeing the multitude hotly demand the battell, is said to haue yeld this or the like speach.

When I consider the cause of this warre, and our present necessity, I haue reason (me secknes) to presume, that this day and this our generall agreement, will giue a happy beginning to the freedome of the whole Iland. For wee haue all hitherto liued in libertie, and now no land remaineth beyond vs: no sea for our safety: the *Roman* Navy (as you see) surveying, and inuironing our Coasts; so that combat and armes which men of vertue desire for honor, the dastard must also yse for his securtie. The former battles, which haue with diuerse euentis beeene fought with the *Romans*, had their refuge & hope resting in our hands. For we, the flower of the *British* Nobility, and seated in the fuyliest part of the Ile, did neuer yet see the borders of those countreys which were brought vnder seruile subjection, (our eyes being still kept vnpolluted, and free from all contagion of tiranny.) Beyond vs is no land: besides vs none are free: vs onely hitherto, this corner, and secret harbour hath defended; You see the vttermost point of the land is laied open, and things, the lesse they haue beeene within knowledge, the greater is the glory to atchive them. But what natiō is there now beyond vs? what els, but water and rocks, and the *Roman* Lords of all within the land, whose intolerable pride in vaine shall you seeke to auoyde by seruice and humble behavour? They are the robbers of the world, that hauing now left no land to be spoyle, search also the sea! If the enemy be rich, they seeke to win wealth: if poore, they are content to gaine glory to themselves, whom neither the East, nor West can satisfie, as being the onely men of all memory, that seeke out all places, be they wealthy or poore, with like greedy affection. To

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take away by maine force, to kill and spoyle: falsely they assume Empire and government, when all is waste as a wildernesse: that they call Peace. His children and blood each man holdeth by nature most deere, and yet euen they are prested for soldiery, and carried away to be slaues, wee know not where. Our sisters & wiuers, though they be not violently forced, as in open hostility, yet are they vnder the color and title of friends, & guests, shamefully abused. Our goods & substance they daily draw from vs, rewarding vs only with stripes & indignities. Slaues which are borne to bondage, are sold but once, and after are sedde at their owners expences. But *Britannie* dayly buyeth, dayly feedeth, and is at charges with hir owne bondage. And as in a private retinue, the frelh man and last commer is scoffed at by his fellow seruaunts: so in this olde seruitude of the whole world, they seeke onely the destruction of vs, as being the latest attempted, and of all others, the most vile in account. We haue no fields to manure, no mines to be digged, no ports to trade in; and to what purpose then should they keepe vs abue, considering that the manhood, and fierce courage of the subiect doth not much please the iealous *Souerayne*, and this corner (being so secret and out of the way, the more security it yeeldeth to vs, the greater suspicion it worketh in them.) Seeing therfore all hope of pardon is past, it behoueth you at the length to shew courage, in defending, and maintaining, both your safetie, and honour. The *icensore* led by a Woman, fired the *Roman* *Coleme*, forced the Castles: and had the prosecution of the Warre beeene answerable to so lucky a beginning, the *Britons* might then with ease haue shaken off the Yoke, and preuented our perill. Wee, as yet, neuer touched, neuer subdued, but borne to be free, not slaues to the *Romans*: we (I say) are now to make proesse of our valor, and to shew in this encounter, what maner of Men *Caledonia* hath reserved in store for hirselfe. Do you thinke that the *Romans* be

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" be as valiant in warre, as they are wanton in peace ? No,
 " you are deceived. For they are growne famous , not by
 " their owne Vertue, but by our iarres, and discord, while
 " they make vse of their enemis faults, to the glory of their
 " owne army, composed of most diuerte Nations; and ther-
 " fore as by present prosperity it is holdē together: so doubt-
 " leſſe (if Fortune frowne on that ſide) it will ſoone be diſlo-
 " ued: vndeſle you ſuppoſe the *Gauls* and *Germans*, and (to
 " our ſhame hec it ſpoken) many of our owne nation (which
 " now iend their liues to eſtablish a ſoꝛine Vſurper) to be
 " led with any true hearted, and faithfull affection. No, it is
 " rather with terror and diſtrutt, (weake workers of loue:)
 " which if you remoue, then thoſe, which haue made an end
 " to feare, will ſoone begin to hate. All things that may en-
 " courage, and giue hope of Victory, are now for vs. The
 " *Romans* haue no Wines to harten them on, if they faint, no
 " parents to vpbraid them, if they ſlie. Moſt of them haue no
 " Countrie at all, or, if they haue, it is ſome other mens. They
 " ſtand like a ſort of ſcatesfull Persons trembling, and gazing
 " at the ſtrangenesſe of the heauen it ſelue, at the ſea, and
 " the woods. And now the heauens (fauouring our cauſe)
 " haue deliuered them, mewed vp (as it were) and fettered
 " into our handes. Be not terrified , or diſmayed with the
 " vaine ſhew, and gli.tering of their gold and ſiluer, which
 " of themſelues do neither offend, nor defend. And thinke,
 " that euē amongſt our enemis, we ſhall find ſome on our
 " ſide, when the *Britans* ſhall acknowledghe their owne
 " cauſe, the *Gauls* remember their old freedome, and the reſt
 " of the *Germans* forſake them , as of late the *Uſpans* did.
 " What then ſhould wee feare? The Caſtles are empty , the
 " Colonies peopled with aged and iuipotent persons: the free
 " Citties diſcontented, and diſtract with factions, whileſt
 " they which are vnder obey with ill will, and they which do
 " gouerne rule againſt right. Here is the *Rom. n. Generall*,
 " and the army, their Tributes, and Mines, with other iuſ-
 " ries,

ties, inſep.ably following ſuch as liue vnder ſubiection of
 others, which, whether wee are to endure for euer, or
 ſpeedlie to reuenge , it lyeth this day in this field to
 determine. Wherefore beeing now to ioyne battaile,
 beare in Mind, I beſeech you, both your anſtors (which
 liued in the happy eſtate of liberty) and your ſuccesſors,
 who, (if you ſaile in this enterprife) ſhall liue here after in
 perpetuall ſeruitude. This ſpeach was cheerfully received
 with a ſong (aſter their barbarous fashion,) accompanied
 with confuſed cries, and acclamations. And as the *Roman*
Cohorts drew together, and diſcouered themſelues, while
 ſome of the boldeſt preſſed forward , the reſt put them-
 ſelues in array: and *Agricola* (albeit his ſouldiers were glad
 of that day, and could ſcarco with woordes haue bin with-
 holden) yet ſuppoſing it fit to ſay ſomwhat, he encouraged
 them in this wile.

Fellow ſouldiers, and Companions in armes , your
 faithfull diligēce, and ſeruice, theſe eight yeareſ, ſo paine-
 fully performed, by the Vertue, and fortune of the *Roman*
 Empire, hath at length conquered *Britannie*. In ſo many
 Journeys, ſo many Battailles, we were of neceſſity to ſhew
 our ſelues, either valiant againſt the enemie, or patient and
 laborious aboue, and againſt nature it ſelue. In al which ex-
 plorations we haue both of vs ſo carried our ſelues hitherto, as
 neither I deſired better ſouldiers, nor you, other Captaine. We
 haue exceeded the limits, I, of my predeceſſors, and
 you likewife of yours. The end of *Britannie* is now found,
 not by fame, and report , but wee are with our armes and
 pauiſhions really inuited thereof. *Britannie* is found, and
 subdued. In your marching heretofore, when the paſſage
 of Boggis, Mountaines, or Riuers troubled and tired you,
 how often haue I heard the valiant ſouldier ſay, When
 will the Enemie preſent himſelfe? When ſhall we fight?
 Lo, now they are put out of their holes, and here they are
 come. Lo, now your wiſh: Lo, here the place for Triall
 of

" of your vertue, and all things likely to folow, in a good and
 " easie course, if you win: contrary-wise all against you, if you
 " loose. For, as to haue gone so much ground, escaped the
 " woods and Bogs, & passed over so many armes of the sea,
 " are honorable testimonies of your forwardnes: so if we fly,
 " the aduantages we haue had, wil becom our greatest disad-
 " vantage. For we are not so skilfull in the country: we haue
 " not the like store of prouision: wee haue onely handes and
 " weapons, wherein our hopes, our fortune, and all things
 " else are included. For mine owne parte, I haue bin long
 " since resolued, that to shew our backes, is dishonourable,
 " both for Souldier and Generall, and therefore a com-
 " mable death is better, then life with reproch (Surety and
 " Honour commonly dwelling together;) Howbeit if aught
 " should mis-happen in this enterprise, yet this wil be a glo-
 " ry for vs, to haue died euin in the vttermost ende of the
 " world, and of Nature. If new Nations and Souldiers un-
 " knowne, were in the field, I would, by the example of o-
 " ther Armies, incourage you: But now I require you, only
 " to recount your owne victorious exploites, and to aske
 " counsell of your owne eies. These are the same men, which
 " the last yecre assailed one Legion by stealth in the night, &
 " were soudainly and (in a manner) by the blastes of your
 " mouthes, ouerthrowne. These, of all the other Britans,
 " haue beeene the most nimble in running away, and by that
 " meanes, haue escaped the longest aliue. For, as in forrests
 " and woods, the strongest beasts are chased away by mane
 " force, and the cowardly and fearefull scared, onely by the
 " noyse of the Hunters; so the most valiant of the Britan
 " nation, we haue already dispatched; the raicall herd of da-
 " stardly cowards onely remaineth. And loe, we haue now
 " at length found them, not as intending to stay, and make
 " head against vs, but as last overtaken, and by extreme
 " passion of feare flandering like flockes, and presenting oc-
 " casion to vs in this place, of a worthy and memorableni-
 " story.

story. Now therefore, make a short worke of our long
 " warfare, and to almost fiftie yeeres trauaile, let this day
 " impose a glorious end. Let each of you shew his valour,
 " and approue to your country, that this army of ours could
 " neuer justly be charged, either with protracting the warre,
 " for feare, or vpon false pretences, for not accomplishing
 " the Conquest.

As *Agricola* was yet speaking, the souldiers gaue great
 tokens of their feruent desire to fight, and when he had en-
 ded his speech, they ioyfully applauded it, running strait-
 wayes to their weapons, and rushing furiously forwarde:
 which the *Roman* Generall perceiving, forthwith ordered
 his army in this maner. With the *Auxiliarie* footemen,
 he fortified the middle battell. The horsemen hee placed
 in wings on both sides. The *Legions* he commaunded to
 stand behinde, before the trench of the campe, to the grea-
 ter glory of the victory, if it were obtained, without *Roman*
 bloud, or otherwise for assistance, if the forward should
 be distresled. The *Britans* were marshalled on the higher
 ground, fitly for shew, to terrifie their ennemis: the first
 troope standing on the plaine, the rest on the ascent of the
 hill, rising vp as it were by degrees one ouer an other: the
 middle of the field was filled with chariots, and horsemen,
 clattering and running round about. Then *Agricola* find-
 ing them to exceede him in number, and fearing lest hee
 should be assailed on the front and flankes, both at one in-
 stant, thought it best to display his army in length: and al-
 though by that meanes the battell would become dispro-
 portionably long, and many aduised him to take in the *Le-
 gions*: yet he confidently reected the counsell, and leauing
 his horse, auanced himselfe before the Ensignes on foote.
 In the first encounter before they ioyned, both sides dis-
 charged, and threw their darteres. The *Britans* employing
 both Arte and Valour, with their great swordes and little
 targets, defended themselves, and wounded their ennemis,

till *Agricola* espying his vantage, appointed three *Batani*
an Cohorts, and two of the *Tungrians* to presse forward, and
 to bring the matter to handy strokes, and daint of sword;
 which they, by reason of their long seruice, were able rea-
 dily to performe, to the prejudice of the other side, in re-
 garde of their little bucklers and huge swordes. For, the
 swords of the *Britans* being weighty, and blunt poynted,
 were no way fit, either for the close, or open fight. Now,
 as the *Batanians* beganne to strike them on the faces, with
 the pikes of their bucklers, and (hauing ouer-borne such
 as resisted) to march vp to the mountaines: the rest of the
Cohorts (gathering courage vpon emulation) violently
 beat downe all about them, and running forward, left
 some of the *Britans* halfe dead, some wholy vntouched,
 for haste & desire to haue part of the glory in winning the
 field. In the meane time, both the chariots of the *Britans*
 mingled themselues with their ennemis battell of foot-
 men, and also their troupes of horsemen, (albeit they had
 lately terrifid others:) yet now themselues (beginning to
 flic) were distressed by the vn-euuenesse of the ground,
 and the thicke rankes of their ennemis, who continued
 the fight, till the *Britans*, by maie weight of their owne
 horses, and chariots, were borne downe one vpon another,
 (the maisterlesse horses affrighted running vp and
 downe with the chariots, and many times ouer-beating
 their friendes which either mette them, or thwarted their
 way.

Now the *Britans* (which stode aloofe from the battell,
 vpon the top of the hilles, and did at the first (in a maner)
 chidairie the small number of their ennemis) beganne to
 come downe, by little and little, and sought to fetch a com-
 passle about the backes of the *Romans*, which were then in
 traime of winning the field. But *Agricola* suspeching as
 much, opposed them with certaine Wings of horsemen,
 purposely retained about him for sodaine dispatches, vpon
 all

all chaunces, and repulsed them as fiercely, as they ranne to
 assaile. So the counsell of the *Britans* turning to their owne
 hurt, the *Roman* Wings were commanded to for sake the
 battell, and follow the flight. Then were there pittifull
 spectacles to be seene; pursuing: wounding: taking pri-
 oners: and then killing such as were taken, as soone as others
 came in the way. Then whole *Regiments* of the *Britans*,
 (though armed, and moe in number) turned their backes
 to the fewer: others vunarmed sought their owne death,
 ofering themselues voluntarily to the slaughter. The fields
 euery where were imbrued with bloud: Every where wea-
 pons lay scattered: wounded bodies: mangled lims: some
 slaine outright: some halfe dead: some yeelding vp the
 ghost: and yet, euен at the last gaspe, seeming by their
 countenances to discouer, both anger and valour. Such
 of the *Britans*, as in flying recovered the woods, ioyned
 themselues together againe, and intrapped vunawares, some
 of the *Romen* souldiers, that vnauidedly followed, not
 knowing the Countrey; And if *Agricola* had not by his
 presence, and direction assilid at need setting about them
 his most expert footmen, (as it were in forme of a *Toyle*)
 & commaunding some of his horsemen to leaue their hor-
 ses, (where the passage was narrow) and others to enter
 singe, on horsebacke, where the wood was thin; doubt-
 le the *Romans* had taken a blowe by their ouer much
 boldnesse. But after that the *Britans* sawe them againe in
 good array, and orderly following the chase, they fledde,
 (not in troupes as before, when they attended each other;
 but viterly disbanded, shunning all company) toward the
 desert and farre distant places. The darkenes of the night,
 and satiety of bloud, made an ende of the chase. Of
 the *Britans* were then slaine about 10000: of the *Romans*,
 340, amongst whom the chiefe man of note was *Aulus*
Atius, the Captaine of a *Cohort*, who vpon a youthfull
 heate, and through the fiercenesse of his horse, was carried

into the midst of his enemies. That night the winners refresched themselves, taking pleasure in talking of the victory, and diuiding the spoyle. But the *Britans* being viterly discouraged, crying, and howling (both men and women together) tooke and drew with them their wounded persons : calling the not wounded : forsaking their owne houses, and in despite, setting them on fire : then seeking holes abroad to lurke in, and hauing found them, straightwaies againe forsaking them : some times communicating Counsailes together, and conceiuing some little hope : and then by and by deiceted and desperate : some times moued with pitty at the sight of their kinsfolke, and friendes, and some times stirred with rage, and enuie, in thinking and speaking of their enemies, and (which was most lamentable) some of them, by way of compassion, and mercy, killing their owne children and wiues.

The day following did more plainly discouer the greatnessse of the Victory, by the calamity of the vanquished. Desolation, and silence euery where : the smoke of the houses fired appeared a farre off : no sallies out of the Woods: no stirring in the Mountaines : no man to make resistance, or to meet with the *Roman* spies, who being sent abroad into all Quarters, found by the print of the *Britans* footesteps, that their flight was vncertaine, and that they were no where in companies together, but scattered in diuerse places, and altogether vnable to make any new attempt vpon the sodaine. Wherefore *Agricola*, the summer being now spent in this iourney, and the time past for imployment elsewhere, brought his army, into the borders of the *Horrestians* country, where hauing receiued hostages of the inhabitants, hee commaunded the *Admirall* of his Navy, (being furnished with souldiers, and sufficient strength for that purpose) to saile about *Britannie*, whither the fame and terror of the *Roman* name was already gone before. Then he planted garrisons vpon the borders bee-

tweene

tweene *Glotia* and *Bodotria*, and disposed of his footmen & horsemen in their wintering places within the Prouince. Thus after manie Conflicts by the space of about 130. yeares, the vtmost limites of *Britannie*, and the Iles of the *Orchades* lying on the North side of it, were by the Valor and Industry of *Iulius Agricola*, first discouered, and made knowne to the *Romans* : and the South part of the Ile reduced into a full Prouince, the Gouernement wherof was peculiar to the *Roman* Emperors themselves, and not at the disposition of the Senate.

This state of affaires here, *Agricola* signified by letters (without any amplifying termes) to *Domitian* the Emperor, who after his maner, with a cheerefull countenance, and grieved hart receiued the newes, being inwardly pricked with anger, and disdaine, to thinke that his late counterfeit *Triumph of Germany* (wherein certaine slaues bought for money, and attired like captiues of that country,) was had in derision, and iustly scorned abroad; whereas now a true and great victory (so many thousands of enemies beeing slaine) was currant in every mans mouth; Besides, he esteemeid it as a most perillous point in a state, that a priuate mans name should bee exalted, aboue the name of a Prince; and he supposed, that he had in vaine suppressed the study of *Oratory*, and all other politike arts, if he shuld in militare glory be excelled by another; for matters of other kindes (as he supposed) might more easily bee passed over: but to be a good commaunder of an army, was to be aboue priuate estate (that being a vertue peculiar for a Prince.) *Domitian* being tormented with these, and the like conceits, and musing much in his closet alone (which was commonly noted, as a signe of some mischefe in working) thought it best, for the present, to cloake and dissemble his malice, till the heat of *Agricolas* glory, and the loue of his souldiers were somewhat abated (for as yet *Agricola* remained in office.) Wherefore he commaunded, that all

the honours of *Triumphal* ornaments, the image *Trium-
phal*, & what else was vsually bestowed in lieu of *Triumph*,
should in most ample and honorable termes bee awarded
him in Senate: And then sending a successor, hee caused a
bruit to be spred, that the Prouince of *Syria* (which was the
void, and specially reserved for men of great quality) shuld
be assignd to *Agricola*. The common opinion was, that
Domitian sending one of his most secret, and trustie ser-
uants vnto him, sent wthall, the commission of *Lieutenan-
cie* for *Syria*, with priuate instructions, that if *Agricola*, at
the time of his comming, should be still in *Britannie*, then
it shold be deliuered: if otherwise, it shold bee kept
back; and that the same man meeting *Agricola* as he cros-
sed the seas, without speaking to him, or deliuering his mes-
sage, returned againe to *Domitian*. Whether this were true,
or fained vpon a probable surmise, as agreeable to the
Princes disposition, it could not directly bee affirmed; but
in the meane season *Agricola* had yeelded vp the Prouince
in good and peaceable state vnto *Cneus Trebellius*, or ra-
ther (as some writers report) to *Salustius Lucullus*; And lest
his comming to *Rome* shold haue bin noted, by reason of
the multitude of people, which would haue gone out to
see, and meeet him, hee warily cut off the occasion of that
curtesie, entring the City by night, and by night, (as hee
was commaunded) eaine to the pallace, where being ad-
mitted to the Princes presence, and received with a short
salutation, & no further speach, he sorted himselfe with o-
ther gentlemen of his ranke, carrying himselfe euer after
very temperately and warely in all his actions, as knowing
the present state of those times, and the dangerous inclina-
tion of the Emperour himselfe, who being (as all other
Princes are commonly) more fearefull, and icalous of the
good, then the bad, enuied in him those vertues, and that
honorable reputation, whereof himselfe was not capable;
Yet, as good deserts cannot be hid, (true worthines shining
even

even in darkenesse it selfe:) so the retired life which *Agric-
ola* led, did nothing diminish his glory, but rather, like
water sprinkled vpon a burning fire, increased, and conti-
nued the heat thereof. Diuerse times was hee accused in
his absence (which ministred to his ill willers oportunitie
of working his disgrace,) and as often in absence was hee
acquited, the opinion onely of his good deserts, and no
matter of crime giuing the occasion, while such as highly
commended him to the Emperor, (seeming his friendes,
but being (indeed) the most pestilent kind of ennemis)
procured vnder-hand his perill and ruine in the end.
Howbeit, the ill successe of the *Roman* armies in diuerse
Prouinces at that time, seruing as a foile to set out his ho-
nourable actions, drew him perforce into glory, and *De-
milian* made pretences of his purpose to employ him, thin-
king thereby to satisfie the people, who the complained of
the want of good Leaders. But vertue, that neuer continu-
eth long time in prosperous estate, (as beeing the common
objekt of envy,) hastened the death of *Agricola*, who (as
the constant fame went,) was made away by poison, and
that not without the Emperors knowledge, and consent:
These things concerning *Agricolas* gouernment in *Bri-
tannie*, I haue set downe particularly, as they are reported
by *Cornelius Tacitus*, whd wrt the story of his life, which
remaineth to the world, as a perpetuall monument of the
doings of the one, and the writings of the other.

Salustius Lucullus succceeding *Agricola*, left little memo-
ry of himselfe by doing any thing here; either for that no
occasion was then offered to shew himselfe in action, or
else for that the fame of so worthy a predecessor blemished
his reputation. For hauing held the office but a short time,
he was by commaundement of *Domitian* put to death, for
suffering certaine speares of a new fashion, to be called by
his owne name. About this time *Armiragus* a *Bruan* by
buth, and education, did gouerne (as King) part of the Ile
of

of *Britannie*, the *Romans* accounting it a point of pollicy to permit the *Britans* sometimes to bee ruled by Princes of their owne nation, whose aide, and counsaile, they might vse (vpon occasions) to the pacifying of rebellions, and the establishing of their owne greatness; For the common people, (whose affection doth oft times sway the fortunes of great Princes) are much more easily brought vnder the obedience of their owne Country-men, then of Strangers.

Domitian being slaine, *Nerua Cocceius* succeeded in the Empire: But in what estate the affaires of *Britannie* then stood, the histories of those times make no mention, either for that the Emperor being a man farre striken in yeares, and disposed to ease, and quietnes, employed himself rather in reforming abuses at home, then in maintaining war abroad: or else, for that the short continuance of his government did not suffer him, to enter into any great actions in places so remote; For hauing held the Empire little aboue one yeare, he left the same (by death) to *Ulpius Trajanus* a Spaniard, whom he had adopted for his vertue and wisedome. In his time, some of the *Britans*, desirous to free themselves from the *Roman* tiranny, entred into rebellion, but wanting meanes to effect, what they had begun, they soone gave ouer the enterprise. Howbeit *Elles Adrianus* (who succeeded *Trajan* in the Empire) hauing intelligence, that the Northerne *Brstans* made incursions into the Prouince, sent ouer *Iulus Severus*, to impeach their attempts; but before he could make an end of the warre, he was revoked, and sent into *Syria*, to supprese the *Ieris* rebellion; and *Adrian* the Emperour himselfe came with an army into *Britannie*, where hee encountered the barbarous people of the North, recovered such Fortes as they had taken, and forced them to retire to the mountaines, and woods, whither the *Roman* horsemen, without danger, could not pursue them. And then fortifying the bor-

borders of the Prouince, by raising a Wall of *Turnes*, about 80. miles in length (betwene the mouthes of the rivers *Hurna*, and *Tina*) to defend the inhabitants thereof, from the soddaine assualtes of their ill neighbours, hee returned triumphantly to *Rome*. This exploit wonne reputation to the *Roman* army, and great honor to the Emperour himselfe, who was then called, the *Restorer of Britannie*, and had the same inscription figured for the stamp of his Coine.

Now the *Britans* dwelling within the Prouince, seemed for the most part, patiently to bear the yoke (which *Custome* had made lesse painful) and they obeyed the more willingly, as standing in neede of the *Rom:ns* help, against their owne countrymen, whose cruelty was now as much feared as in former times the inuasion of strangers. Wherupon they conformed themselves to the *Roman* lawes, both in maiuall and ciuill affaires, which were then principally directed by *Licinius Priscus*, who had bin (not long before) employed in the expedition of *Iewry*, and was at that time *Proprietor of Britannie*.

Antoninus Pius succeeded *Adrianus* the Emperour, when (*Lollius Urbicus* being *Lieutenant*) the barbarous people made a roade into the Prouince: but they were beaten backe by the *Rom:ns* forces, that lay vpon the borders: and then was there an other Wall of *Turnes* built, by commandement of the *Lieutenant*, to strengthen those partes, with a double rampire. In the meane time, a new ware was kindled among the *Brigantes* that annoyed some of the *Roman* confederates: but by the discreiion of the *Generall*, it was quenched, before it came to a flame. For *Lollius Urbicus* vpon the first rumour of the revolt, marched thither with part of the army, leauing the rest behinde to guarde the borders: and *Seius Saturninus* Admirall of the *British* Fleet, being well appoynted by *Sea*, lay vpon the North side of the Ile, to defend the

Coasts, and (ypon occasions) to further the land service. By this meanes the *Brigantes* were easily reduced to obedience, euen by the presence onely of the Lieutenant, who for his good service done in *Britannie*, during the shorte time of his employment there, obtained the surname of *Britannicus*.

Antoninus Pius being dead, and *Antoninus Philosophus* possessed of the Empire, *Calphurnius Agricola* was made Lieutenant of the Prouince, who at his first entrance into office, vnderstoode of some new tumults raised during the vacacion; but partly by pollicie, and partly by force, he in shorte time appeased them, deseruing thereby great commendation, though oft times the glory of such ex- ploites was attributed to the Emperours themselues, (the labour, and perill in attempting, and (for the most parte) enuy after victory) remaining onely, as rewardes to their ministers.

Now was the time come (namely about one hundred and fiftie yeeres after the birth of our *Saviour*) when Christian Religion (which for many yeeres together, had bin wrapped vp in the darke cloudes of errore and superstition) beganne to discouer it selfe more openly in this Iland, by the meanes of *Lucius* surnamed *Leuer Maur*, who (by permission of the *Roman Lieutenant*) did gouerne as king, a great parte of the Prouince. For it appeareth by the testimony of ancient Writers, that *Britannie* received the Christian faith, euen in the infancie of the Church, immediately after the death of our *Saviour Christ*, whose *Apostles* and *Disciples* (according to his commandement) published and dispersed the same in diuerse parts of the world, by preaching and dooing miracles; the same whereof did sometimes moue heathen Princes, to allow their doctrine, and to fauour the professors thereof, as *Lucius* then did. Besides that, the *Roman Lieutenants* and *Gouernours*, as well in *Britannie*, as other Prouinces, did sometimes tol-

rate

rate the exercise of true Religion, which they seemed inwardly to approoue, howsoeuer for worldly respects they forbare to shew themselues openly in fauour of it. But *Lucius* desiring to be fully instructed in that faith, whereof he meant to be a professor, sent Letters to *Elutherius* then Bishop of *Rome*, requiring his direction and assistaunce, in accomplishing the good worke, which hee intended: This motion was well liked of the Bishop, who writing vnto the King, commended his zealous disposition to ,, embrace the trueth, exhorting him to reade the holy scrip- ,, tures with humilitie and reverenc , and out of them (by ,, Gods grace, and aduise of fauifull Counsellors) to gather ,, instructiōs for the framing of Lawes necessary for the pre- ,, servation of his estate: which Lawes so gathered and fra- ,, med, he did affirme to be much better then the *Imperiall* ,, *Constitutions of the Romans*, or any other whatsoeuer: that to make Lawes, and execute Justice, was the proper of- ,, fice of a Prince, who was, vpon earth, the *Vicar* of God , himselfe, and received from him, that title and authoritic, to the end hee should vse the same, to the good of the *Ca- , tholike Church*, and of the people committed to his charge. Herevpon *Lucius* and his family was baptizēd, the wor- , shipping of Images forbidden , the *Flamins* and *Arch- , flamins* Idolatrous Priests among the *Britans* expelled, and the Temples dedicated to prophane gods, were consecra- , ted to the seruice of the only true God. Thus Christianitie , being here received by king *Lucius*, kept on hir course vntainted, and without opposition, til the time of *Dioclesian* , the Emperor, who kindled the fire of the last and long- , est persecution in the Primitiue Church. That storme be- , ing ouer-blowne, the sun-shine of true Religion displayed , it selfe, till *Arrius* . and other heretickes after him disper- , sed their impious assertions, which (like a contagious dis- , ease, infecting most partes of the world) inuaded also this , our Iland; the inhabitants whereof, as men delighting in , noucl-

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nouelties, were carried hither and thither, with every blast of vaine doctrine, retaining nothing in matters of Religion for certaine, but their owne vncertain opinions; Howbeit Britannie may thinke her selfe, as happy in many other blessings, so most happy in this, that among all the Nations of Christendome, she brought foorth and nourished the first Christian king.

This was the state of the *Church in Britannie*, when new troubles began to the disturbance of the Prouince. For the Northerne *Britans* making a breach in the Wall, which *Adrian* the Emperour had built, and finding the borders but weakely garded, entred the Prouince, and surprizing the *Roman* Generall, killed many of his souldiers, and razing the Countries, wasted and spoyled euery where without resistance, till *Ulpianus Marcellus* beeing sent ouer by *Commodus* the Emperor, stayed their fury, and with great difficulty forced them to retire within the Wall. By which means the Prouince being quieted, he applied himselfe to reforme abuses in his Campe, reuiuing the auncient discipline of warre, which had bin for a time discontinued among the *Roman* souldiers, whome long seruice, and many victories had made bold to say, and do oft times more then became them. For *Marcellus* indeede was a man somewhat austere, in reproouing and punishing: otherwise very temperate: diligent in times of warre: not idle in peace: his diet was the same which the common souldier vsed: in quantitie more sparing: for hee woulde eate no bread, but such as was brought from *Rome*: which he did, to the end hee might auoyde excesse, and take no more then sufficed nature (the stalenesse of the bread having taken away al taste, that might either please the sense, or prouoke the appetite) The day time, for the most parte, hee spent in viewing his Campe, in training young souldiers, and giuing direction to Officers. In the night he wrote Letters, and made his dispatches into diuers parts of

the Historie of England.

of the Prouince, (as occasion required.) Hee slept very little, by reason of his thin diet, and much busynesse (wherewith he was continually occupied;) for he thought [that he which slept a whole night together, was no meete man to be either a Counsellor to a Prince, or the Commaunder of an army.] Every euening he vsed to write instructions vpon twelue Tables made of *Linden tree*, which Tables hee deliuered to one of his seruants, appoynting him to carry them at sundry houres of the night, to certaine of his souldiers, who thereby supposing that their Generall was still waking, and not gone to his bed) were the more carefull in keeping the watch, and preuenting sodaine attempts in the night season. He was feuere in execution of iustice: not to be ledde by fauor: not to be corrupted by bribes. He leuied money, only as necessary for the warre, not to enrich himselfe, or his friends, as other Gouvernours in former times had done; for he never preferred his owne private, before the publike, nor a wealthy estate before an honourable reputation. The fame of these vertues, as they made him much respected both of his owne souldiers, and of the *Britans*: so they procured Enuy, which alwayes followeth Virtue inseparably, as a shadow doth the body. For *Commodus* the Emperour vnderstanding, howe *Marcellus* had caried himselfe in *Britannie*, was much displeased therewith, and doubting lest he should grow too great, he thought it best to cut him off. But some accidents happening in the meane time, to make him change that purpose: he onely sent Letters of discharge, and so dismissed him of the office.

After his departure, the army hauing beene kept in by hard hand, and finding now the reine let loose vpon a sodaine, beganne to be mutinous, and refused to acknowledge *Commodus* for their Emperour. These disorders *Perrenius* one of his fauorites tooke vpon him to redresse, by displacing such persons as he suspected, and committing

their offices to men of meaner quality: wherewith the *Legions* were much discontented, disdaining, that insteade of *Senators*, and men of *Consular degree*, they shoulde now be gouerned by vpstarts, and base companions. In the heate of these broyles, about fifteene hundred souldiers forsooke the Army, and went to *Rome*, where they exhibited to the Emperour, a Bill of Complaint against *Perennius*, whome they charged, as the chiefe Authour of the dissencion in the Army, by bringing in new customes: by exceeding his Commission, and doing things derogatory to the maiesty of the *Roman Empire*. These, and other things (aswell false as true) were obiected against him by the multitude, who for the most parte, dislike such as exercise authority ouer them, and keepe no measure in their affections, either of loue, or hatred. But, (that which touched to the quicke) was an accusation of treason putt vp against him, for conspiring against the life of the Emperour, and in seeking to aduaunce his sonne to the Empire. This poynt was quickly apprehended by *Commodus*, who thought that the suspition of the fact, or the reporte onely to haue intended it, was a sufficient cause of condemnation, howsoeuer the party accused was indeede eyther guilty, or innocent. Herevpon *Perennius* was declared Traitor, and deliuered to the souldiers, who stripped him of his apparrell, whipped him with roddes, and in the end, cruelly murdered him.

Then was *Helvius Pertinax* (a man of meane fortune by birth, as hauiug risen from the state of a common souldier to the dignity of a commaunder) sent into *Britannie* to appease the tumults there. He was one of them that *Pere-*
nius had before discharged from bearing office, and sent into *Liguria*, where he was borne. At his first entrance, he attempted by force to suppress the rebellion of the army, adventuring so farre in a skirmish, that though he escaped with life: yet was he left among the dead, and suppo-

sed to be slaine. Afterwardes proceeding with better aduise, and successe, he composed the troubles, severely punishing the principall offenders, and vsing some rigor in revenging his owne iniuries, by which meanes growing odious to the souldier, and distrusting his owne safety, hee made sute to bee discharged of the *Lieutenant-ship*.

Then was the gouernement of the Prouince assigned to *Clodius Albinus*, a man of noble birth, very forwarde, and for the most part, fortunate in his attempts: for which the Emperor *Commodus*, either vpō feare or fauor, did honor him with the title of a *Cesar*, though *Albinus* seemed vnwilling to accept it; and afterwardes discouered his disposition more openly, in affecting the ancient free state. For, vpon a false report of the death of *Commodus*, he made an oration to the *Legions* in fauour of the *Senate*, whose gouernement he had commended, and preferred the same before that of the Emperors. But *Commodus* being aduertised thereof, sent *Iunius Seuerus* with all speede to take charge of the army. In the meane time, *Albinus* retired himselfe from affaires til *Commodus* was dead, and *Pertinax* elected Emperor. Then he combined himselfe with *Didius Julianus*, whom the souldiers (that then made open sale of the Empire,) had elected after the death of *Pertinax*. But *Julianus* being infamous for his vices, and failing to performe his promise made to the souldiers, was in a short time forsaken of them, and afterwardes murdered. Vpon report of *Julianus* his death, *Septimius Seuerus* (a man adorned with excellēt gifts of nature) was declared Emperor; and for that he feared *Clodius Albinus* (who then had recouered the gouernement of *Britannie*) he made him his Associate in the Empire, and sent *Heraclianu*s to bee Lieutenant of the Prouince, which, *Heraclianu*s soone after resigned to *Virius Lupus*. But desire of Souerainety, (that cannot long indure equality of degree) made the one iealous

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Ious of the other, and the fire of ambition (that had beeene smothered for a time) burst out at length into a flame. For *Seuerus*, hauing pacified some tumults in the West part of the world, and after many conflicts subdued *Pescenius Niger* (who vsurped the Empire in the East) pretended the breach of Association, as a colour to make warre vpon *Albinus*, who vnderstanding thereof, transported ouer the seas a mighty army furnished with abundance of vittaille out of the Ile it selfe, which then (through the industry of the inhabitants applying themselues to tillage, and husbandry,) yeelded plenty of graine, and serued the *Romans* as the Garner of the West Empire, out of which they carried yearly great quantities of corne to mainetaine their armies in *Gallia*, and *Germany*. Neere *Lugdunum* in *Gallia*, *Seuerus* encountring with *Albinus*, whose forces were there defeated, and himselfe slaine. Then *Seuerus* made preparation for his voyage into *Britannie*, which by reason of the often change of Gouvernors, was growne much out of order; and although the *Britons* vpon intelligence of his purpose, did send ouer Ambassadors, to offer their voluntary submission: yet the Emperor (in whome neither age nor sickenesse had abated the heate of ambition) would not directly accept thereof, but entertained them with delaies, till all things were in readines for his Expedition: [So earnest a desire he had to passe into the furthest part of *Britannie*, and to purchase the surname of *Britannicus*, as an honourable addition to his other titles.] His two sonnes *Bassianus* (commonly called *Caracalla*) and *Geta*, he tooke with him, as doubting their agreement in his absence. To *Geta* his younger sonne he committed the gouernement of the Prouince here for ciuill causes, wherein *Aemilius Paetus Papinius* the famous Lawyer, (who as chiefe minister of Justice vnder him, had his *Tribunall* seate at *Eboracum*) was appointed to assist and direct him. *Seuerus* himselfe, and *Bassianus* with the army marched Northward against the

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Meate, a people bordering vpon the *Caledonians*, and in league with them. *Virius Lupus* (but a little before) had asfayed to enter the country by force, when the *Meate*, (standing vpon their owne strength) withstood him and forced him in the end to purchase his peace with money. Then *Seuerus* hastned into *Caledonia*, where finding the passages vncertain and dangerous, by reason of the fennes, woods, and deepe waters: he caused trees to be felled, and bridges, and cawseis to be made, for his souldiers to march ouer. The *Caledonians* in the meane time sallied out of the woods, and charged the *Romans*, who were much incombr'd for want of firme ground, and were oftentimes forced to trace the country, and to disperse themselues in severall companies, seeking places of aduantage: by which meanes a great number of them perished, while the barbarous people, (lying in ambush, and sometimes leauing their catell abroad, as a traine to draw them within danger) suddenly surprised, and killed them, before they could recover the Campe. This was an vnfourtunate iourney to the *Romans*, who besides the losse which they sustaine by their ennemis, were afflicted with diseases, by reason partly of the vnwholesome waters which they dranke, and partly of the Contagious aire that infected their spirits: yea many times they killed one another; for such as through feblenesse could not keepe ranke in marching, were slaine by their owne fellows, that they might not be left a prey to their sauge enemies. There died in this enterprise about 30000 *Romans*. Yet would not *Seuerus* withdraw his force thence till the *Caledonians* made offer to treat of peace, whereto he then harkened the more willingly, for that hee saw the difficulty, and (in a manner) impossibilitie to bring that Northern part of the Ile, wholy vnder subiectiōn, by reason of the rockes, mountaines, and marshes: as also for that the country being for the most part barren, and vnfruitesfull, the profitte thereof was not deemed, likely

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to counteruiale the charge, in getting, and keeping it. The conditions were, that the *Caledonians* should first disarne themselves, and deliuer part of the country, (lying next the Prouince,) into the *Romans* possession, and that from that time forwarde, they should attempt nothing against the publique peace; which Articles agreed vpon, and assurance taken for the performance, *Seuerus* retired himselfe into the Prouince, leauing his son *Bassianus* to take charge of the army, which after the Emperours departure, grew carelesse & dissolute: wherewith the Generall seemed nothing displeased, either for that he was by his owne nature inclined to the worst, or else, for that hee hoped thereby to winne the souldiers fauour, as a meane for his aduancement to the Empire after his fathers death, which hee had oftentimes attempted by indirect practizes to procure.

In the meane while, the *Caledonians* (notwithstanding the late contract) vnderstanding what disorders were in the *Roman* camp, sodainely inuaded it, killing, and taking booties, which they shared with their neighbors of the Province, that had assisted them in the enterprise. *Seuerus* being greatly incensed therewith, sent part of the army to pursue the *Caledonians*, expressly commaunding, that they should be all put to the sword, without respect of age, or sex. This sharpe manner of proceeding, quailed the hope of the Northerne *Britans*, who fled into the remote partes of *Caledonia*: and *Seuerus* having rather staid, then ended the troubles, spent some time in repairing and enlarging *Adrians Wall*, which he carried th'wart the Iland, from Sea to Sea, intrenching and fortifying it, with bulwarkes and square towers, in places most conuenient (to giue warning one to another vpon any sodaine assault) for defence of the borders. Then being wearied with age, sicknes, and trauaile, hauing his mind also much grieued, with the disloyall and vnnaturall practizes of his sonne *Bassianus*, hee with-

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withdrew himselfe to *Eboracum*, a *Colonic* of the *Romans*, being then the *Amision* of the *Sixt Legion*, called *Victrix*, and afterwardes growing to bee one of the chiese places of account among the *Brigantes*. For these *Stations* of the *Roman Legions* were commonly the seed-plots of townes, and cities, both in this Ile, and diuerse other parts of the Empire.

It was reported, that in his passage thither, a *Moore* with a *Cypresse* garland on his head, did meeete and salute him by the name of a God: and that, at his entrance into the Cittie, he was by error of the *Soothsayer* (that guided him) brought into the temple of *Bellon*: and that blacke beasts, being appointed for sacrifice, did of themselues folow him to his Pallace. These things, howsouer they fell out accidentally: yet they were interpreted as ominous, in respect of the event. And no. v *Seuerus* perceiving his death to approach, called before him some of his counsellers, and chiefe captaines, vnto whome he is saide to haue spoken in this manner.

It is now about eightene yeares, since I was first decla-
red Emperour by the army in *Pannonia*; during which time, „
with what care, paine and trauaile, I haue weilded this vast „
body of the Empire, my continuall employmant in wars, „
both at home and abroad may witnesse sufficiently. For, „
at my first entrance, I found the State incumbred euerie „
where, and now I shall leaue it peaceable, euen to the *Bri- „
tans*. The future prosperity whereof, must depend vpon „
the mutuall agreement of my two sons. For neither multi- „
tude of men, nor abundaunce of treasure, are so availeable „
to defend, and mainetaine common-wales, as amity and „
vniety betweene *Gouernors*. For, by concord, (we see,) that „
small things grow to greatnes, wheras by discord the greate- „
test fall to ruine. I must now leaue to them (as my suc- „
cessors,) the *Imperiall Diadem*, that which *Bassianus* hath „
solong thirsted after, though he know not yet, whether it „
be

“ be a thing to be wished, or feared, as having not prooued
 “ the difference betwixt a Prince, and a private person. But
 “ ambitious mindes are carried blind-fold, they wot not
 “ whither, in desiring that, which having once obtained,
 “ they can neither keep without great care, nor leue without
 “ extreme perill, such a thing is Soueraignty, whose greatness
 “ is not contained in it selfe, but consisteth for the most part
 “ in the opinion, and depe:re:de:th vpon the dispositions of o-
 “ ther men. It is vertue only, not glorious titles which makes
 “ men truly great. My selfe at this present may serue for an
 “ example, to shew, vpon what a weak foundation, humane
 “ creaturis is built. For, *I haue bin in all things, though now it a-*
“ malle me nothing: seeing I must pay my debt to Nature,
 “ and after all my exploits in the East and West parts of the
 “ world, (I) must die (as I may say) out of the world, in a
 “ strange country, if any country may be termed strange to
 “ the *Romans*, who haue now by conquest made all coun-
 “ tries their owne. I exhort you therefore, as you tender the
 “ welfare of the *Roman Empire*, of your owne selues, and
 “ your posterity, be true and faithfull to my sons, as you haue
 “ bin to me, affilting them with your counsell, and perswa-
 “ ding them to mutuall concord, as the maine piller to sup-
 “ port both their estates, and your owne.

When he had vitered these, or the like speeches, hee
 turned aside, and shortly after yeelded vp the Ghost. *Baf-*
flanu:s being aduertised of his fathers death, practised with
 the souldiers by bribes, and faire promises, that hee might
 be declared sole Emperour: whereto when he coulde not
 perswade them, for the reuerence they bare to his fathher
Seuerus, hee made a league with the Northerne *Bratani*
 that then assayled the borders, and returned to *Eboracum*,
 to meeete with *Iulia* the Empresse his mother in lawe, and
Geta his brother. There he caused the Physitians to be put
 to death, for not ridding his fathher sooner out of the way,
 as he had commandned them. Then he appoynted secret-
 ly

to the slaughter, all those, that for their vertue and wise-
 dome had bee:ne esteemed, and aduaunced by his fathher,
 and all such, as hauing bee:ne Tutours to him and his bro-
 the:; aduised them to mutuall concord. This done, he en-
 tered into consultation about his fathfers funeralles, which
 were solemnized by the army with all due rites, according
 to the auncient custome in times of warre. The ashes of
 the dead body being put into a *Golden Urn*, were after-
 wards by *Iulia* the Empresse (accompanied with the two
Cesars) carried to *Rome*, where *Seuerus*, after the vsuall
 ceremonies, was consecrated a God.

Now the affaires of *Britannie*, for the space of about
 fiftie yeeres together, were palled ouer in silence, as bee-
 ing, either omitted through the negligence of Writers in
 that age, or perishing through the calamitie of the times
 that ensued. But when *Gallienus* had obtained the Empire,
 the *Roman* state was much incumbred, and oppressed with
 her owne forces, while certaine Captains (commonly cal-
 led, the *Thirtie Tyrants*) disdaining the gouernement of
 so cruel and dissolute a Prince as *Gallienus*, and being cho-
 sen Emperours by the Armies which they commaunded,
 sharped absolute authoritie in diuerset Prouinces. Among
 these, *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Posthumus*, *Tetricus*, and *Ma-*
nus (as Histories report) ruled in *Britannie*.

In the time of *Aurelianus* the Emperour, *Bonosus* a
Britan by birth, and famous for his excelle in drincking,
 invaded the Empire with *Proculus*, vsurping *Britannie*,
Spaine, and *Gallia Braccata*. But being afterwards vanqui-
 shed by *Probus* the Emperour, he hanged himselfe; wher-
 of there went a common iest among the souldiers, that [a
 drinking vessel, not a man was hanged vp.] Then the
 Gouvernor of the Prouince in *Britannie* being preferred to
 the Office, by meanes of *Victorinus* a Moore (a man in
 great fauour with *Probus* the Emperour) beganne to raise
 sedition among the souldiers there; with which practise

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Probus first acquainted *Victorinus*, who supposing himselfe touched with the imputation of his crime, whome he had recommended and aduaunced to the gouernement there, desired leaue of the Emperor to goe into *Britannie*, where (giving it out, that he fled thither for safegarde of his life) he was curteously entertained by the Gouernor, whome hee afterwardes murdered secretly in the night, and then speedily returned to *Rome*: having, by this devise, appeased the tumults in the Prouince, and approoued his fidelite to the Emperour. About this time (as it is reported) certaine *Landals* and *Burgundians* (which hadde invaded *Gallia*) being vanquished by *Probus*, were sent into *Britannie*, where they seated themselves, and did afterwards good seruice to the *Romans*, in suppressing rebellious attempts there: though the Emperour then sought to win the *Britans* fauour, rather by clemencie, than rigor: licensing them to plant Vines, and make Wine, and to doe other things, aswel for their pleasure as profit.

Then *Carus* succeeding *Probus* in the Empire, assigned *Britannie*, *Gallia*, *Spanie*, and *Illyricum* to *Carinus*, one of his sonnes, who possest the same, till *Dioclesian* was declared Emperour: in whose time the Prouince was peaceably gouerned, the borders being strongly guarded with forts, and bulwarks against forraigne inuasion; but the sea coasts both of *Gallia* and *Britannie*, were much annoied with pirats of *Germany*, against whom *C. Carausius*, as Admirall of the *Brish* fleet, was sent to sea.

Carausius was a man by birth of low degree, though otherwise worthy of the highest, if his owne ambition, and the guiltinesse of his actions, had not pricked him forward to seeke it by vnlawfull courses, and to boulster out wrong by that authority, which is the ordinary meane appointed to punish it; for in shoit time he grew very rich, by taking great store of shipping and treasure, which he detayned to his owne vse, without restoring the same to the

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theright owners, or rendring account thereof to the Emperors officers. Whereupon *Maximianus Herculeus* (whom *Dioclesian* had taken to bee his Associate in the Empyre) being then making warre in *Gallia*, surprised the principall men of *Carausius* his faction at *Gessoriacum*, and gaue commaundement, that *Carausius* himselfe should be madeaway. But *Carausius* being priuily aduertised thereof, and knowing that then there remayned for him no meane fortune betwixt the life of a Prince, and the death of a Traytour, entered forthwith into actuall rebellion, making his party strong both by Sea and Land, in drawing discontented persons into the action, & alluring the Northern *Britans* to ioyne with him, vpon hope of spoiles to be gotten in the Prouince, which hee then ruled with a kind of absolute authority, and soone after vsurped there the *Imperiall* ornaments.

The *Roman* state being shaken in diuerse places, either by the negligent gouernment, or ambitious attempts of Capaines, and Commaunders of armies, (which gaue occasion to whole nations and Prouinces to revolt:) The two Emperors declared *Galerius Maximinus* and *Constantius Chlorus* as their assistants by the name of *Cesars*. Then was *Maximinus* sent into *Persia*, & *Constantius* into *Britannie* against *Carausius*. But before *Constantius* arriued there, *Carausius* was slain by the practise of *C. Allectus* his familiar friend, who then vsurped the empire, as *Carausius* had done before; And vnderstanding that *Constantius* was comming over with a great power, he resolued to meet him vpon the Sea, & impeach his landing; for which purpose he lay with his Navy vpon the coast of the *Ille Vectis*; but his hopes failing him, by reason the *Romans* in a thicke mist did recover the land, before he could discouer them, hee prepared his forces to encounter them in a set battayle neere the shoare. *Constantius* (having determined to try the vtmost of his fortune) to take away from his Souldiers, all hope of returme,

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turne, did first sette his shippes on fire, and afterwardes gaue the charge vpon *Alelius*, whose armie was (for the most part) composed of mercenary men, consisting of *Britans*, *Frances*, *Germans*, and diverse other nations, who fought not al with like courage; for after the first encounter, some of them turned their backes, forsaking their Commaunder, who escaped the fury of the battayle by slight, though he was shortly after taken, and slaine by *Alepiodatus* the *Præfæctus Praetorio*. The *Frances* that serued vnder *Alelius* fled to the Cittie of *London*, which (being weakely garded) they rifeled and sacked, though they did not long time enioy the spoyle; for parte of the *Roman Army* comming thither (rather by error in mistaking their way, then offset purpose) afflaited them, tooke away their booties, and put the most part of them to the sword. This victory restored againe to the *Roman Empire*, the Prouince of *Britannie*, which had bin vsurped about seauen yeares by *Carausius*, and three yeares by *Alelius*.

Now began the storne of persecution for *Christian* religion to arise vnder *Dioclesian*, who commaunded that throughout the dominions of the Empire, the people should offer sacrifice only to the Gods of the Emperors, and that such as refused so to do, should bee punished with diuerse kinds of cruell death. Herevpon the *Christians*, (being then dispersed in diuerse partes of the world,) not fearing any torments, that tiranny could devise, made publicke profession of their faith, which they constantly maintained, and willingly sealed with their blood. Amongst many others that died in *Britannie* for that cause, *Alban* an inhabitant of the famous free Cittie *Verulamium*, is specially remembred as the first *British Martyr*, who being yet but a *Pagan*, received into his house a *Christian*, one of the *Clergy*, that fled from his persecutors, and obseruing his devotion in watching, fasting, and praying, became in the end a follower of his faith and vertue. And to the end that

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that his guest might escape the hands of those that pursued him, hee put on his garments, offering himselfe to the soldiers, that were sent to search his house, and in that habit was presented to the *Judge*, before whom he made confession of his faith, reproouing the prophane rites of heathenish superstition. Wherevpon hee was committed to the tormentors to be whipped, and persisting in his constancie, was afterwards beheaded on the top of an high hill neare the Cittie. It is reported, that the *Tormentor* (who was first appointed to behead him) perceiving a miracle wrought by him, as he went to the place of execution, refused to doe his office, casting the sword out of his hand: and prostrating himselfe at saint *Albans* feete, desired earnestly that he might either die for him, or with him, rather then live to be the minister of his death; whereupon as a professor of that faith, whereof he had bin long time a persecutor, he dranke of the same cup with saint *Alban*, and in steede of the sacramental signe of baptism, was washed in the bath of his owne blood. It is also written of S. *Alban* his executioner, that his eyes fell out of his head, at the very instant, that the *Martyrs* head (being severed from the body) fell to the ground; But whether it were the pleasure of God in the first planting of his truth here, to approoue the same by myracles: or whether the incredulity of that age might giue Writers occasion to report more then the truth, I will not take vpon me to censure. There suffered also in *Legecestria* about the same time, and for the same cause *Aaron* and *Julius*: and in sundry other places of this Ile many other, as wel women as men, who gaue testimonie of their patience in praying for their persecutors, and also of their piety by doing things myraculous, which mooued the *Pagan Princes* at the last to cease their tiranny, as being rather wearied with afflicting the *Christians*, then the *Christians* themselves with enduring the affliction; Such power hath na being assisted with diuine grace, to do,

do, and suffer euē aboue, and against Nature it selfe. The maner of *Saint Albans* death being engrauen yppon a Marble stōne, was set vp within the City for a terror to the *Christians*, who afterwardes erected a Temple in that place, which was accounted venerable for many ages, after the destruction of *Verulamium*, out of whose ruines another towne was raised, continuing the name and memory of *saint Alban the Martyr*, euē to this day. But *Dioclesian* and *Maximianus*, resigning their authority, *Constantius Chlorus* stayed the persecution in *Britannie*, and afterwards went thither himselfe, renforing the garrisons, both within the Province, and yppon the borders, and establishing a generall peace throughout the Iland; which done, hee repaired to *Eboracum*, and there fell sicke of a languishing disease. In the meane time, *Constantinus*, his sonne, (being left at *Rome* as his fathers pledge) elcaped from his keepers, and houghing the post horses (as he passed the countries) that he might not be ouertaken by pursue, came at length into *Britannie*, where he was received with great ioy by *Constantius* his father, who being then past hope of life, signified in the presence of his counsellors, and captaines, " that he willingly and gladly embrased his death, since hee should leaue a memorabile monument of himselfe in the life of his sonne, who (hee hoped) should succeede him in the gouernement, to protect the innocent from oppression, and to wipe away the teares from the *Christians* eyes: " for therein aboue all other things, hee accounted himselfe most happy. Thus died *Constantius Cæsar*, a wise and vertuous Prince, as being not subiect to those vices which commonly accompany the highest fortunes. Hee was first called from the degree of a *Senator* to be a *Cæsar*, not affecting the title for ambition, nor resuling it in respect of the danger. *Helena* his Wife, the mother of *Constantine the Great*, was (as some haue written) the daughter of *Coil a Bruish King*, though by others it be otherwise reported.

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But of what countrie or kindred souer shō was, it appeareth by consent of all Writers, that she was a wife and vertuous lady, worthy to be the Wife of such a Husband; and the Mother of such a sonne. She was an earnest professor of Christianity, and yppon religious Zeale trauailed to *Jerusalem*, where she found out the Manger, wherein Christ was laid at the time of his birth, and the croſſe whereon he was nailed when he suffered. By this Croſſe many diseases were cured, and strange miracles wrought (if credit may be gien to such as haue wriuen thereof.) Her constant desire to aduaunce the Christian faith, first mooued *Constantius* his husband to fauour the *Christians*, who hauing in times of danger hidden themselves (for the most parte) in desarts and dennes, did then come abroad againe into the view of the world, reedified their old Churches, founded New, instituted holy daies to be celebrated in honour of their *Martyrs*, and exercised religion freely and peaceably, as being licensed so to do by publicke Edicts. In all vertues, beſeeming a Prince, there were few of his degree, either before his time, or since, that might worthily bee compared with *Constantius*, who in the administratiō of Justice in ciuill cauſes carried so euē a hand, as he neuer vsed to make difference of persons, or to be mis-led by affection. He was no wastefull spender of his subiects treasure: no greedy hoorder vp of his owne; for he esteemed money only, as a thing to be yſled, not kept: and he would oft times say, [that it was more behouefull for the common-weale, that the wealth of the land should be dispersed in subiects hāds, then barred vp in Princes coſſets.] For glorious apparell and other outward ornaments, (wherewith Princes vſe to dazell the eyes of the common-people,) hee was more meanely furnished, then beſeemed the greatness of his estate. His diet was neither curiouse, nor costly: and when he feasted his friendes, he borowed his siluer vſeſſel, ſuppoſing it a thing vneceſſary, to haue any of his owne,

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and considering perhaps, that the mettal wherof they were made, might be conuerted to a better vse. In times of war she was diligent and industrious: yet not vsing force where pollicy might preuaile; for he so much esteemed the life of a man, as he would neuer hazard it in desperate attempts for his owne glory: which wanne him great reputation among his souldiers, who for the loue they bare him, did presently after his death, elect Constantine his sonne to succeede him; (other Nations supposing this our Iland most happy, in first seeing him saluted Emperor.)

Then Constantine although he seemed at the first unwilling to accept the Imperiall Title, and protested openly against it: yet when the Senate had confirmed the election, he tooke vpon him the government of those Prouinces, which his father had held in the West parts, and with an army of Britans and other nations, he subdued first Maximianus, Maximians son then vsurping the Empire in Italy, and afterwardes Licinius his Associate, who persecuted the professours of Christianitie in the East partes of the world. By which meanes Constantine alone enjoyed the Empire, and for his many and glorious Conquests, was worthily surnamed the Great. In his time the forme of gouernement in Britannie, both for Ciuell; and Martiall causes, was altered, and new Lawes established. The ciuell gouernement of the Prouince there he committed to Pacianus, who ordered the same, as Deputy to the Praefectus Praetorio of Gallia (an Officer newly instituted by him.) Then Constantine intending to make warre in Persia, either to defend, or enlarge the limite of the East Empire, remooued the Imperiall seate from Rome to the Cittie Bizantium (which he reedified, and caused the same to be called of his owne name Constantinopolis:) drawing thither the Legions in Germany, that garded the Frontiers of the Westerne Empire, which was thereby layde open to the incursions of those barbarous people that afterwardes assualted

assailed it, and in the ende, possessed the greatest parte thereof. The borders also of the Prouince in Britannie were weakened, by remoouing the garrisons there into other Cities and Townes, which being pestered with soldiers (for the most parte vnruly guests) were abandoned by the auncient Inhabitants.

After the death of Constantine the Great, Constantinus his eldest sonne enjoyed Britannie as a portion of his dominion, till making some attempts vpon his brother Constans, for the enlarging of it, he was by him slaine. Then was the Empire diuided betweene Constans and Constantius the two yoonger brethren. Constans seised vpon the Provinces, which Constantius his brother had held, and made a voyage into Britannie, where Gratianus had then charge of the army. This Gratianus was surnamed Fannarius, for that, being a yoong man, hee was able (as it is written of him) to holde a rope in his hand against the force of fiue souldiers) assaying to pull it from him. But Constans afterwardes following ill counsell (the ready way to Princes vices) and giuing himselfe ouer to all kindes of vice, was slaine by Magnentius Taporus (the sonne of a Britan) who then invaded the Empire, vsurping the gouernement of Gallia and Britannie, till (after three yeeres warre with Constantius) finding himselfe vnable any longer to vpholde his greatnessse, he murdered himselfe. Then was Martinus (an aged man) made Deputy of Britannie, when Paulus a Spaward surnamed Catena (a name well sorting with his nature) was sent thither, as a Commissioner, to enquire of such, as had conspired with Magnentius; But vnder colour of his authority, hee called in question, such as were not faulty, either vpon false information, or priuate displeasure, and sometimes to make a gaine of those that were accused; which course Martinus the Deputy disliking, intreated him, that such as haue bene no actors in the rebellion, might be no partners in punishment with offenders.

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Wherevpon *Paulus* charging the Deputy himselfe, as a fauourer of Traytors, and priuie to the conspiracie, did so far foorth incense *Martinus*, that (being either impatient of reproches, or perhaps not altogether guiltlesse) he strooke at *Paulus* with his sword, intending to haue killed him, but failing in the execution, he presently thrust the sword into his owne body. *Gratianus Funarius*, though hee were not specially bound by othe to the Emperour, as some o. others had beeene: yet for that he had received *Magnentius* into his house, was adiudged to forfeit all his goodes: the rest of the accused persons being fettered, and presented to the Emperour, were condemned, some to death, and some to exile.

Now was the gouernement of *Gallia* and *Britannie* asigned to *Iulianus* (commonly called the *Apostata*) whom *Constantius* had made a *Cæsar*. Then *Lupicinus* Maister of the Armour to the Emperor (a good souldier, but notorious for his pride, covetousnesse, and cruelty) and after him *Alpinus* were sent into *Britannie*, to represso the barbarous people that had inuaded the Prouince there, while *Iulianus* himselfe remained in *Gallia*, not daring to passe into the Ile, both for that he feared the *Gauls*, who were ready (vpon the least occasion) to revolt, and also doubted the *Alamans*, who were then vppe in Armes. After the death of *Constantius*, *Iulianus* possesing the Empire (which hee had vsurped in the life time of *Constantius*) banished *Palladius* an honourable person into *Britannie*, and sent *Alpinus* to repaire the walles of *Iersalem*, in which attempt God discouering his wrath, by terrifying the builders with thunder and lightning, and killing many thousand *Leues*: gaue an apparent testimony, how vaine a thing it is for the power of man to oppoße it selfe against his immitable decree.

Iossianus succeeded *Iulianus* in the Empire, which hee held but few moneths. About this time the *Picts*, *Saxons*, *Scots*,

Scots, and *Attacots* inuaded the *Roman Prouince* in *Britannie*, (*Valentinius*, the first of that name, then gouerning the Empire, together with *Valens* his brother.) These *Picts* and *Scots* (as some Writers report) came first out of *Scythia*, though it be not improbable, that the *Picts* were very *Britans* theiselves, which being either borne in the Northerne Promontorie of the Ile, or flying thither out of the South partes, entered into confederacie with the *Scots*, and retained, for a time, their auncient name of *Picts*, as being so called by the *Romans* (in respect of the old custome of painting their bodies) to distinguish them from the *Britans* then dwelling in the Prouince. These *Picts* increasing in number, did afterwardes inhabite the Iles of the *Orades*, & being for the most part rude and savage (as the *Scots* then were) became in the end to be as it were one people with them, oft times harrowing the borders, and grievously annoying their ciuill countrymen (there being commonly no greater hatred, than that which is bred & norished among the people of one Nation, when they are seuered each from other, by difference of maners and customes.) That the *Scots* had their originall from the *Scythes*, their very name may seeme, in some sort, to discouer howbeit diuerse Stories affirme that they traualied first into *Cantabria* in *Spaine*, where (perhappes disliking that barren soyle) they continued not long, but sayled into *Ireland*, and from thence a great number of them came ouer into *Britannie*, seating theiselves in the North parts of the Ile, where being now armed with forraine power, they assayled the *Britans* both by sea and land, killing *Nedarius* the Admirall of the *British Fleet*, and surprising *Bulchobaudes* one of their chiefe Captaines, (the mutinie at that time in the *Roman Campe* giuing them oportunitie and boldenesse to doe, in a manner, what they listed.) For the Legionary souldiers refused to obey their Leaders, and even the *Deputies* theiselves: complaining of the Emperours

perours partialitie, in punishing the least offence of the common souldier, and wincking at the great abuses of Commaunders and Officers. Herevpon a warlike troop of Alamans was sent ouer vnder the conduct of *Fraomarus* their king, who exercised there, the authoritie of a Tribune. *Seuerus* the Emperours Steward of housholde, and *Iouinus* were appointed to second him, with certaine Auxiliarie forces out of *Gallaia*. By this means the fury of those barbarous Nations was somewhat restrained, till the coming of *Theodosius*, who first appeased the mutinie among the souldiers, and afterwardes prosecuted the warre with such good successe, as hee restored the decayed Townes, strengthened the borders: appoynting night watches to be kept there, & in the end recovered the Prouince, which was then contented to admit of Gouernors (as in former times) and as a new conquered state, had a new name giuen it; For in honour of the Emperour *Valentinian*, a part of the Prouince was (for a time) called *Valentia*. Not long after, one *Valentinian* a Pannonian entred into a conspiracie there, which being discouered before it was ripe, the peril like to haue ensued, was easily auoyded.

Then *Gratianus* succeeding *Valentinian*, elected *Valentinian* the second his brother, and *Theodosius* (the sonne of *Theodosius* aforesnamed) to be his Associates in the Empire, but *Clemens Maximus* gouerning the army in *Britannie* (vpon emulation, and enuy of *Theodosius* glory,) vsurped the Empire there: and hauing transported the strength of the Prouince into *Belgia* (the German army being also revolted to him) he placed his Imperiall seate among the *Treuiris*, from whence *Gratianus* intended by force to haue expulsed him, but that as hee marched through *Italy* with his army, the most part of his soldiers forsaking him, he fled to *Lugdumum* in *Gallia*, where he was entrapped by a devise, and afterwardes slaine by *Andragathius* one of *Maximus* his Captaines. *Maximus* hauing his mind li-

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ted vp with his fortune, created his sonne *Victor* (as he) and vsed great cruelty against those, that had serued vnder *Gratianus*. Whervpon *Valentinian* doubting his owne state, sent *Saint Ambrose* vnto him as an Ambassador to desire peace, which in the end was granted vpon condicions. But *Maximus* ambitiously affecting the sole gouernment, did soone after breake the peace, invading *Itali*, and attempting to haue taken *Valentinian* himselfe, who to prevent that danger, fled with his mother vnto *Theodosius* his Associate, (then ruling the East Empire), imploring his aide against *Maximus*, that usurped *Italy*, and other parts of his gouernement. Herevpon *Theodosius* prepared an army to encounter *Maximus*, who in *Pannonia* being overthrown, fled to *Aquileia*, where by the treason of his owne souldiers he was deliuered to *Theodosius*, and presently put to death. This end had *Maximus*, after hee had usurped the Empire five yeares. The like calamities also befell his friendes and followers. For *Victor* his son was afterwardes slaine in *Gallia*, by *Arbogastes*. *Andragathius* the murderer of *Gratian* drowned himselfe, and diverse of *Maximus* his Captaines being taken, were put to the sword. Howbeit the *Britans*, by whose power *Maximus* had raised himselfe to that greatness, (as men desiring rather to trie new fortunes abroade, then to returne home,) resolued to stay in *Armorica*, where some of their countrymen had reinayned (as diuerse Writers affirme) since the conquest of *Gallia* by *Constantine* the Great. By this meanes, in processe of time, (partly by force, and partly by pollicie,) they grew so strong as they left the possession of a great parte of that Countrey to their posteriue, which being rooted therein by many discents, did afterwardes enioy it entirely, as their owne, (the name of *Britannie* continuing there among them euuen to this day.) This victory of *Theodosius* was so much esteemed, as the Senate appoynted by Decree, that yeerely feasts shoulde be cele-

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brated in remembraunce thereof.

Now the *Roman Monarchy* was drawing onto his fatall period, when *Honorius* succeeding *Theodosius* his father in the Westerne Empire, sent *Stilico* into *Britannie*, to defend the Prouince against the *Picts* and *Saxons*, who assailed the *Britans* in most partes of the Ile, woorking vpon the weakenesse of the Prouince, in which (the most choise and able men hauing been from time to time transported, and wasted in the *Roman* warres with other Nations) there remained not then sufficient strength to defend it selfe. The common souldiers there, seeing the state in combustion, tooke vpon them to elect and depose Emperours, first proclaiming *Gratianus* (a free Citizen of *Rome*; But not long contented with his gouernement, they murdered him, and elected one *Constantin* (for the names sake only) supposing the same to be auspicious. *Constantin* transpor-ting the flower and strength of all *Britannie* into *Gallia*, made many dishonourable leagues (to the prejudice of the Empire,) with the barbarous Nations that then inuaded it, and sent his sonne *Constans* (whom of a *Monke* he had made a *Cesar*) into *Spaine*, where *Constans* (having put to death some principall men, whome he suspected to fauor *Honorius*) committed the gouernement of the Countrey to *Geromius* his chiefe Captaine, who afterwards slew him at *Vienna* in *Gallia*: and *Constantin* his father hauing runne through many fortunes, was in the end besieged at *Arles*, where he was taken and slaine by the souldiers of *Honorius* the Emperour, who then recouered *Britannie*. *Chrysanthus* (the sonne of *Martianus* a Bishop) a man of *Consular* degree, was then *Deputy* of *Britannie*, where he wan so great reputation for his vertue, and integritie shewed in the gouernement, both of the Church (which was then tainted with the *Grace-less* heresie of *Pelagius* the *Britan*) and also of the weale publike of the Prouince: as hee was afterward (though against his will) preferred to the Bishopricke

ishopricke of *Constantinople*.

Now the *Romans* (about four hundred and seauentie years after their first entrance into the Ile) gaue ouer the gouernement of *Britannie*, & the *Britans* that had bin many times assailed by their vnciuill neighbors, (consorted with strangers of diuerse Nations) perceiued themselues vnable to make resistance, as in former times; wherevpon they sent Ambassadours to *Rome*, requiring ayde, and promising fealty if the *Romans* would reskew them from the oppression of their ennemis. Then was there a *Legion* sent ouer into the Iland, to expulse the barbarous people out of the Prouince: which being with good successe effected, the *Romans* counsellel the *Britans*, for their better defence, to make a stone Wall between *Gloster* & *Bodorria*, (the two Armes of the sea that ran into the land,) and so departed thence. But this Wall was made only of *Turnes*, and not of *Stone*, as they were directed (the *Britans* hauing not then a nee skill in such kind of buildings;) By which meanes it serued to little purpose; For the *Scots* and *Picts* vnderstanding that the *Romans* were gone, passed ouer the water in boates at both endes of the Wall, inuaded the borders of the Prouince, and with maine force bare downe all before them. Wherevpon Ambassadours were sent againe out of *Britannie*, to declare the miserable state of the Prouince, which, without speedy succour, was likely to be lost.

Then was there another *Legion* sent ouer by *Aetius* the President of *Gallia*, vnder the conduct of *Gallio* of *Rasenna*, to aide the distressed *Britans*; and the *Romans*, (hauing reduced the Prouince to his former state,) told the *Britans*, that it was not for their ease to take any more such long, costly, and painfull iourneies (themselues also being then assailed by strangers,) and that from thenceforth they should prouide for their owne safety, learne to vse armour and weapons, and to trust to their owne valor. Howbeit the *Romans* (in regard of the good service done by the *Britans*)

The first Booke of

the nation in former times, builded a Wall of stone, from East to West in the selfe same place, where *Severus* the Emperor had cast his Trench; (the labour and charges of the worke being borne partly by the *Romans*, and partly by the *Britans* them selues.) This Wall contained about eight foot in breadth, and twelue in height, (some reliques therof remaining to be seene at this day.) Vpon the sea coasts towards the South, they raised bulwarkes (one some what distant from another,) to impeach the ennemis landing in those parts; and this done, they tooke their last farewell: transporting their *Legions* into *Gallia*, as men resolved to returne hither no more. As soone as they were gone, the barbarous people (having intelligence thereof) presumed, that without any great resistance, they might now enter the Province. And therupon accounting as their owne, whatsoever was without the Wall, they gaue an assault to the Wal it selfe, which with *Grapples*, and such like Engins they pulled downe to the ground, while the *Britans* (their wonted courage failing them) ranne awaie, each man laying aside the care of the publicke, and prouiding for himselfe, as the present necessitie would permit. The barbarous ennemie in the meane time pursued, and killed such as resisted.

Some of the *Britans*, beeing driven out of their owne houses, and possessions, fell to robbing one of another; increasing their outward troubles with inward tumults, and ciuill dissencion; by which meanes a great number of the inhabitants had nothing left to sustaine them, but what they got by hunting, and killing of wilde beastes. Others burying their treasure vnder ground (whereof great store hath bin found in this age) did flie (them selues) either into the countries of the *Silures* and *Ordovices*, or into the West part of the *He*, (where the *Damnonians* then inhabited,) or else to their owne countreyn in *Armorica*, the rest being hemmed in with the sea on the one side, and their enemies

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the Historic of England.

on the other, sent to the Emperor for aide: which they could not obtaine, for that the *Gates* and *Huns* invading *Gallia* and *Italy*, the greatest part of the Emperors forces, were drawne thither, for defence of those parts; by which meanes (the State of *Britannie*, now declining with the Empire, and shrinking vnder the burden of barbarous oppression) the *Britans* sent ambassadors againe to *Aetius* the *President in Gallia*, desiring him to relieue their necessities: declaring withall, that them selues were the small remnant, which suruiued after the slaughter of so many thousands, whom either the sword or the sea had consumed, for the barbarous ennemie draue them vpon the sea, the sea againe vpon the Ennemie: betweene both which, they suffered two kindes of death, as beeing either killed or drowned: that it importeth the Maiesty of the *Roman Empire* to protect them, who had so many hundred yeares lived vnder their obedience, & were now plunged into the depth of intolerable miseries; for, besides the calamities of warre both ciuill and forraigne at one instant, they were afflicted with dearth and famine, which forced them to yeld them selues to the merciles ennemie. But the poore *Britans* complained in vaine: for the *Romans* either would not, or could not helpe them, without their owne hindrance; Howbeit as extreamities are not of long continuance, so some of the *Britans* taking courage, and resoluing rather to die with their country then to abandon it, resisted their ennemis, and constrained them to returne whence they came; by which meanes the rest of the *Britans*, many yeares after, liued in peace, and without any annoyance, save that the *Picts* sometimes in small numbers made incursions into the land, forraying the borders, and taking booties of cattell there.

After this peace in *Britannie*, there ensued exceeding great plenty of graine, and other fruites of the earth, which the *Britans* abused, mis-spending them riotously in gluttonie

ny and drunke[n]esse. Thus dissolute living, cruelty, pride, and all kindes of vices (the true causes of the change and ruine of kingdomes and common-weales,) raigned as well among the *Clergy* as the *Laity*, both whom God severely punished, by sending among them a greeuous Plague, which in short time wasted so manie of them, as the quicke were scarce sufficient in number, to burie the dead. Howbeit the infection once ceasing; the *Britans* fell to their old disorders, drawing therby a greater plague vpon them, even to the vtter subuersion, and (in a maner) rooting out of their name & nation, as it afterwardes happened. For the *Scots* and *Picts*, knowing how small a number of the *Britans* remained to with-stand their attempts (the greater and better part being already destroied, either by the sea, the sword, famine, or pestilence,) entred boldlie into the hart of the Ile, spoyled the people of their wealth, burnt their Citties, made themselves slaves, and in short time ouer-ran a great part of the land.

Thus about 500. yeares after the *Romans* first entrance, and 446. after the Birth of our *Saviour Christ*, the Ile of *Britannie*, (which had bin, not onely a principall member of the Empire, but also, the seate of the Empire it selfe, and the Seminarie of souldiers sent out into most parts of the world) was now in the time of *Theodosius*

the Tonger bereaued of the greatest part
of hir ancient inhabitants, and
left as a prey to bar-
barous Nati-
ons.

FINIS.



To the Reader.

Although I haue retained, for the most part, the ancient names of Countries, and Inhabitants, as proper to those times, whereof this Booke treateth: yet I haue thought good (for the better understanding of such, as are not acquainted therewith,) to adde this Table, as a direction, to finde out the moderne names also. As for the Ciuiti. and Militare Officers, with other thinges then in use among the Romans: they are well enough knowne to such, as are but meaneley conuersant in their Stories, and therefore I suppose it unncessary to make any exposition thereof in this place.

Ancalites. The inhabitants of the Hundred of Henly in *Oxfordshire*.
Ansonia. Supposed to be the riuer *Ansonia*, now called *Nen*, vpon which *Northampton* is seated.

Aquileia. An ancient city in that part of *Italy* called *Forum Iulij*.
Armrica. *Britannie* in *France*.

Asitania. A Country in *Spaine* betweene *Gallicia* and *Portugal*.

Atacotti. A barbarous people, whose originall is not certainly knowne.

Atrebati. The inhabitants of *Barkeshire*.

Batani. The *Hollanders*.

Belgi. The inhabitants betweene the riuers of *Seive*, and *Sceldt*, and also the inhabitants of *Somersetshire*, *Wiltshire* & *Hamshire* in *England*.

Bibroci. The inhabitants of the Hundred of *Bray* in *Barkeshire*.

Butoria. *Edenborough Frith* in *Scotland*.

Coloni, or Dobuni. The inhabitants of *Gloucestershire* & *Oxfordshire*.

Brigantes. The inhabitants of *Yorkshire*, *Lancashire*, the *Bisopricke* of *Durham*, *Westmerland*, and *Cumberland*.

Britannia

The Table.

Britannie — the Ile. The kingdomes of England and Scotland.
 Bizantium. The Cittie Constantynople in Thrace.
 Caldonij. The inhabitants of the North part of Scotland.
 Camal-dunum. Maldon in Essex.
 Cantabri. The inhabitants of Biscay in Spaine.
 Cantium. Kent.
 Cangi. The inhabitants of a part of Cheshire (as it is conjectured.)
 Casti. The inhabitants of the Hundred of Caistor in Hartfordsire.
 Cattieuchlani. The inhabitants of Buckinghamshire, Bedfordshire, and
 Hartfordsire.
 Ceni—magni. Vide Ceni.
 Cimbri. The inhabitants of Germany and France.
 Corutani. The inhabitants of the Countys of Northampton, Leicestershire, Rutland, Lincoln, Nottingh. m, and Derby.
 Cornauij. The inhabitants of the Countys of Warwicke, Worcester, Stafford, Salop, and Ch歇ter.
 Damnonij. The inhabitants of Cornwall and Devonshire.
 Deua. Chester, the Station of the Legion called Victrix vicissima.
 Dobuni. Vide Boduni.
 Dyrrachium. The Cittie Durace in that parte of Macedonia, which lieth on the Adriaticke Sea.
 Eboracum. The Cittie of Yorke. (The Station of the Legion called Sexta victrix.)
 Franci. The Frenchmen that came out of Franconia in Germany, and seated themselves in France.
 Gallia. In ancient times diuided into 3. parts, Togata, Comata, Braccata.
 1 Togata. The Country lying betweene the Alpes, and the riuers Rubicon in Italy.
 2 Comata. Was diuided into Belgica, Celtica, and Aquitania.
 Belgica contained the Countries betweene the riuers Seine and Seldt.
 Celtica. The Countries betweene the riuers Garonne and Seine.
 Aquitania. The Province of Guyenne in France, bounding upon the Ocean sea, and extending it selfe to the Pyrennes.
 3 Braccata. Being diuided from Italy, and the Alpes by the riuer Parus, contained the Countries of Narbon, Provence and Dauphine.
 Gessriacum. Ballyn in Picardy.
 Glota. The Frith of Dunbretton in Scotland.
 Grampus mons. Granz-bane in Scotland.
 Horresti. The inhabitants of Eskedale in Scotland (as it is conjectured.)
 Hibernia. Ireland.

The Table.

keni. The inhabitants of Suffolke, Norfolke, Cambridgehire, and Hantingeyshire.
 Iccins Portus. The Haven at Calais in Picardy.
 Illyricum. The country of Slavonia. In ancient time Dalmatia, Illyria, and Rannonia were comprised vnder the name of Illyricum.
 Isea. Caerleon in Wales: the Station of the Legion called Secunda Augusti.
 Isea Danmoniorum. Excester.
 Isca. Yuelcester in Somersethire.
 Iuine. A riuere in Yorkeshire.
 Iuana. The riuer Eue in Cumberland.
 Lagedium, vel L. geolium. Castleford neare Pontfret in Yorkeshire.
 Leictodorum. Bedford.
 Legecestria. The Towne of Leicester.
 Liguria. That part of Italy which lieth betwene the Apennine, and the Tuscan Sea.
 Lindum. Lincoln.
 Luguallum. Carlile.
 Mafilia. Marseilles in Prouence in France.
 Meate. The inhabitants of the hither part of Scotland.
 Mona. The Ile of Anglesey.
 Moridunum. Cuermarden.
 Morini. The Countys of Guines, and Bolonois in Picardy.
 Numidia. The kingdome of Thunis, or Barbary.
 Orades. The Iles of Orkney, about thirtie in number, lying on the North of Scotland.
 Ordones. The inhabitants of North-Wales.
 Ostia. A citie built by Annes Marcius the Roman king in the mouth of the riuer Tyber.
 Ottadini. The inhabitants of Norehumberland.
 Pannonia. Hungary.
 Regni populi. The inhabitants of Surry, Sussex, and the sea coastes of Hantsire.
 Sabrina. The riuer Seuerne.
 Segontiaci. The inhabitants of part of Hantsire.
 Silures. The inhabitants of South-Wales.
 Sitomagri. Thetford in Norffolke.
 Taus. The riuer Twede.
 Thamfis. The riuer Thames.
 Tina. The riuer Tine in Norehumberland.
 Treuuri. People of France betwixt Belgia and the riuer Mosella.
 Trinobantes. The inhabitants of Middlesex and Essex.
 Trisantonis portus. Southampton.
 Trutulensis portus. Richborow neare Sandwich in Kent.

Tungri.

THE Table.

Thriges. A people of Belgia.

Tunocellum. Tinmouth.

Pictis. The Isle of Wright.

Kaledonians. The country lying northward between the river
and the Trench neere Edinbrough (now called Grangefield,
was the utmost limit of the Romans governement in this Isle.

Vallum. The Picts Wall.

Venta Belgarum. Winchester.

Venta Icenorum. Caister neere Norwich.

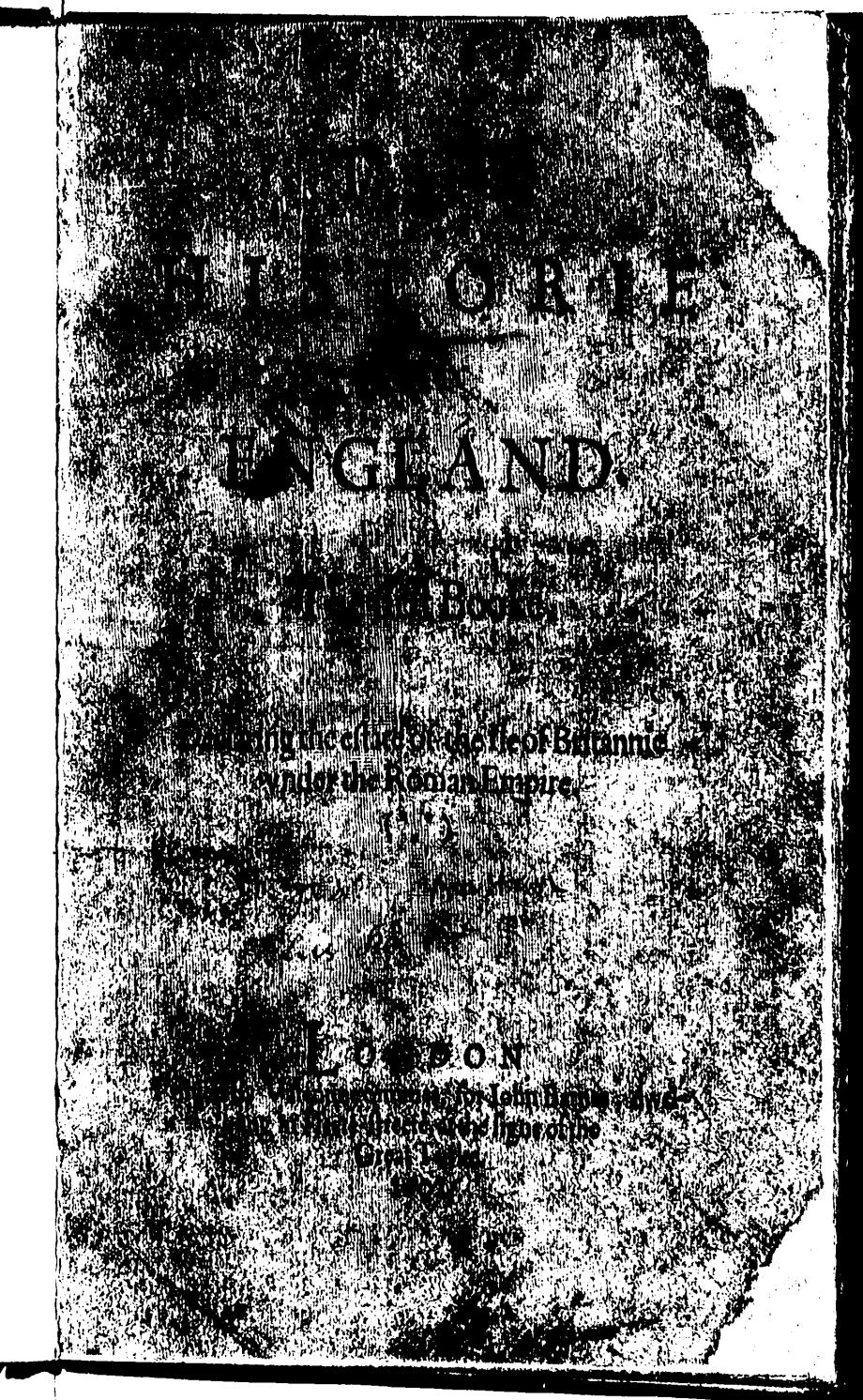
Verulamium (Municipium.) An ancient town
in Hertfordshire.

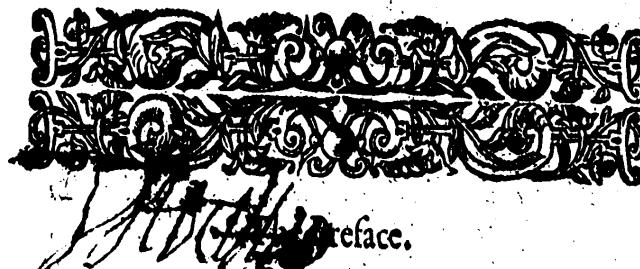
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It haue oft times wished, that (among so many large Volumes, and Abridgements of our English Chronicles, as are nowe extant) wee might haue one continued History collected out of approued Writers, and digested in such maner, as the Reader might neither be tired with the length of fabulous, and extravagant discourses: nor left unsatisfied in any materiall pointes, or circumstances worth his knowledge. And although Truth in her nakednesse, and Simplicitie ought for her owne sake to be desired, and preferred aboue all other things: yet we see that the nature of man (affecting, for the most part, rather pleasure than profite) doth more willingly embrace such things as delight the sense, than such as confirme the iudgement: though to satisfie both the one and the other, is accounted in matters of this kind, the Marke, at which the best Writers haue aymed, as being the very type of Perfection it selfe. In which respect, I am perswaded, that such a Worke would be the better accepted, if the Writer thereof should obserue that Method which hath beeene used in former times, by the best Historiographers among the Greekes, and Romans, who, to shew their owne wits, & to refresh their Readers, deuided their Speeches, and Orations, to enterlace with their true Histories, as

The Preface.

things both allowable and commendable, so farre forth as they were grounded vpon probable conjectures fitting the Speakers, and voyde of absurditie. Which we hath bin held also in our owne Stories, by some of our Countrymen, in writing upon particular subiects which they haue chosen, as most agreeable to their owne humours, and ministring best matter of discourse. Among all which of this kinde, that excellent Story of Richard the third, written by sir Thomas Moore (if my iudgement faile mee not) may worthily challenge the first place.

To write much in commendation of Histories, were (I suppose) but to spend time, as the Sophister did in praysing of Hercules, whom no man (in his right wittes) ever disprayed: and the Proems of Historical Bookes are already filled with discourses of the profitable vse that may be made of them, considering that Examples (as the most familiar and pleasing kinde of learning) are found, by common experience, to be much more auailable to the reforming of manners, then bare rules and preceptis. If then, the knowledge of Histories in generall be so commodious & commendable a thing, as learned men in all ages haue esteemed it: I make no doubt, but it will be easely confesed, that there is no Historie so fitte for Englishmen, as the very Historie of England; in which (if the affection I bear to my native Country deceiue me not) there are many things (besides the necessary vse thereof) very well worthy to be remembred, and obserued: howsaucer our Chronicles haue bin a long time condemned for barbarous, as wanting that purity of language, wherewith the Histories of many other Nations are adorned. And indeede I could wish, that they were so set forth, as our Gentlemen of England might take.

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no lesse pleasure in reading the same, then they doe now in reading the English translations of the Roman, French, & Italian Histories, which, though they may be delightfull, and in some kindes profitable: yet is not the knowledge of them altogether so pertinent, and proper to vs, as of the other, except we would desir to seeme Citizens of an other Country, and strangers in our owne.

And although to some perhappes it may seeme a labour vnnecessary, to beginne with such auncient things as were done heere by the Romans, specially considering the difference of time it selfe (which in every age bringeth forth diuerse effects) and the dispositions of men, that for the most part take lesse pleasure therein, then in the relation of the occurrents of their owne, or later times: yet I thinke it fitte for order sake, there to beginne, whence we haue the first certaine direction to proceede: and I doubt not but some good vse also may be made, even of those auncient thinges (howsouer they may be accounted impertinent to vs) eyther by imitation, or by way of comparison.

As for the storie of Brute, from his first arriuall heere, vntill the comming of the Romans, diuerse Writers holde it suspected, reputing it (for good causes) rather a Poeticall Fiction, then a true History, as namely, Iohannes de Whethamsted Abbot of Saint Albans, a man of great iudgement (who liued about the yecre of Christ 1449.) & Gulielmus Nubrigensis, with others, as well moderne as auncient; who haue in like maner deliuered their censures thereof. Besidcs, Venerable Bede makes no mention of it at all, but begins his History with the Romans entrance into the Iland. Howbeit, seeing it hath beene for so long time generally received, I will not presume, (knowing the power

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power of prescription in matters of leſſe continuance) abſolutely to contradict it: though for mine owne opinion I ſuppoſe it to be a matter of more antiquitie, then veritie. I write not this to detract from thoſe, that haue heeretofore written thereof, in their Bookes of our English Chronicles (continued to theſe times,) as namely Stowe, Hollinſhed, Grafton, and others, that haue employed themſelues, and their trauaile in ſearching out Antiquities, and memorablie things touching the affaires of this Realme. That which they haue done already, deserueth thankes, and good acceptance, in that of a good meaning they haue done their endeouours. But, as in the building of an houſe, diuerſe workemen are to be uſed for diuerſe purpoſes: namely, ſome to prouide timber, and rough-hew it, others to carue and poſh it: ſo I thinke it meete that ſome man of knowledge and iudgement requisite for the accompliſhing of ſuch a worke, ſhould aduifeſly peruife our English Chronicles, (the ſubſtance and matter (though layde uppe in diuerſe publicke & priuate ſtorehouſes) being already provided,) and thereof to frame an Historie, in ſuch manner, as the Reader might reape both pleaſure and profit thereby. Howbeit, I ſee ſmall likelihoode that any thing wil be done herein, while ſuch as are beſt able to performe it, are content to looke on, ſtraining courtesie who ſhould beginne; ſome refuſing the labour, in respect eyther of the labour it ſelue, or of the ſmall recompence that followeth it: conſidering withall, the careleſneſſe, and thankeleſneſſe of this Age, wherein the beſt Workes (contriu'd with many yeaſes trauaile) are, for the moſt part, eyther ſcarcely vouchſafed the reading, or elſe read with a full ſtomacke, and a kinde of loathing.

Others

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Others there be, that preferre ſilence as the ſafest way, in that it is free from censure, & danger, which a man may eaſily incurre by writing: whereaſ for doing nothing, no man is either blamed, or constrained to render an account. For there be many that thinke they cannot ſhew their wits ſo wel in any thing, as in finding faults with other mens doings, (themſelues in the meane time doing nothing.) And though ſometimes there may be iuſt cauſes of reprooſe: yet many times we ſee that exceptions are taken, eyther upon diſlike of the Writer, or enuy of the thing it ſelue deſeruing commendation, or (as it falleth out many times) upon ignorance (the profeſſed enemie of Art and Industry) which cauſeth ſome to condemne, what they understand not. For, the learned and induſtrious ſort of men, as they are beſt able to iudge what is done wel, or ill: ſo they are moſt ſparing in reproving other mens Labours, or making bad conſtructions of good meaniſgs. To the censure of theſe men, as of indifferent Judges, I do freely ſubmit my ſelfe: not doubting, but ſuch as haue trauaile heeretofore in matters of this kinde (being alſo experienced in other) will confeſſe it a worke of no leſſe trouble, to alter, and repair an olde decayed houſe, with the ſame timber, then to erect a new one at the builders pleaſure.

Againe, there be ſome that will not ſtiche to call in queſtion the trueth of all Historieſ, affiſming them to be vaine and fabulous: both for that they are, for the moſt parte, grounded upon coniectures, & other mens reports (which are more likely to be falſe than true) and alſo, for that the Writers themſelues, as well as the Reporters, might be paſtially affected: whereto I anſwre, that many things are left to the Writers diſcretion, and that it is impoſible for

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any man (though never so great a louer of truth) to relate truly all particular matters of circumstance, but that hee may faile in many things, and yet carefully obserue the principall points: which we are so farre forth to allowe, as we finde them not unlikely, nor improbable. Otherwise, in detracting from the credite of ancient Histories, eyther vpon uncertaine surmises, or by rejecting probable coniectures, we should deprive the world of a very great portion of humane learning.

For mine owne parte, although I might be discouraged in respect both of these inconueniences (which haply wiser men foresee and auoyde) and also in regard of my selfe (being amongst many others, the most insufficienct to performe the taske, as a man wanting, both iudgement, and health of body, to go thorow with so weighty & laborious a work:) yet haue I undertaken to make a prooef (as you see) in setting downe the state of this Ile under the Romans gouernment, according to the report of Cæsar, Tacitus, Dio Cassius, and other approoued Writers of our owne, out of whom I haue collected so much as I thought necessary to be remembred touching this Subiect, and digested the same into the forme of an History: and namely, out of the English translation of Tacitus vpon the life of Julius Agricola, I haue taken and appropriated to the context of this Treatise, not only the substance, but the Orations theselues of Galgacus and Agricola, with other things theremencioned (as a chose pece of marble already polished by an exquisite workman, and fit for a much fairer building then I was likely to reare vpon this olde and imperfect foundation.) The phrase thereof only in some few placcs I haue (I hope without offence) altered, fashioning it to our owne tongue,

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tongue, as taking my selfe not necessarily tied to so precis an obseruation in the exposition of words, as is required in a Translator. And I thought it better to sette these things downe in this maner, & to acknowledge whences I had them, then by marring them, to make them seeme mine owne. For I haue ever esteemed it a signe of an illiberal nature, either to detract in any sorte from an other mans labour, or to affect the praise of an other mans merite. Touching the affaires of the Empire, although I haue interposed them, here and there throughout this Booke: yet haue I touched them sparingly, taking only so much, and no more then might well serue to explaine the matter in hand. It may be, some faint will be found, that in the Stile I haue not kept one and the same course from the beginning to the end; but that I haue stayed too long on some pointes, and passed ouer others too briefly: that many things are handled confusedly, and abruptly, without due obseruation of circumstancess required in a well composed Historie. Indeede I must confess, that hecrein the successe hath not answered my expectation in the beginning. Howbeit (if I may be mine owne iudge) I ought to be excused by such as shall consider, first the Subiect it selfe, which is (for the most part) more proper for Annals, then for a continued History: next, the variety of Authors, like so many diverse soiutes, out of which these frutes are collected: then the imperfect relations of former times, wherein the affaires of this Ile for many yeeres together, were either passed ouer in silence by Writers, or else but darkly and imperfectly reported: & lastly, the often change of Emperors & Gouernors here during the space of aboue 400. yeeres. By reason of which inconueniences, I was forced in diverse

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places of this Booke (specially towards the latter end) to set downe a bare collection of the actions themselves, withoute circumstaunce: wherein, if the method seeme differing frome the former, let the cause thereof be imputed, partly to my loue of iustitie, in delivering things, as I received them from others, and partly to my desire to containe the Worke within somerousable proportion: which otherwise in detailing the actes of every particular Governewt, would haue growne to a farre greater Volume, and my selfe thereby should haue run into that error, which I dislike, and wch to be reformed.

Others perhaps will alleadge, that I haue done some wrong to Antiquitie, in disguising it with moderne termes & phrases, affirming those of ancien time to be more proper for our Story, as being more free frome the mixture of other Languages, than the Dialect now current among vs. But heirein, as I dislike affliction of forraigne and newcayzed words, when we haue good, and sufficient store of our owne: so, considering that our Language, of it selfe, is none of the fruitfuller: I see no reason that it shoulde be barred frome communicating with the Latin and French words, which are now (in a maner) become Denizens among vs, to the enriching, and polishing of our English tong. And although I esteeme Antiquitie (as the preseruer of things worthie to be remembred for the benefit of Posterity:) yet I must confess, that I am not so stiffly bent to maintaine it, as some kind of men, that had rather dwell in old sooky houses (for that their ancestors built them) then to alter the fashion of them for conuenientie and decency. Touching the ancien names of the Inhabitants of this Ile, I haue set them downe (as congruent to those times whereof I write) according to the

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The ancienn Roman Historie may haue, wch either wayes of Antiquitie I haue for the moste part followed (as either Catoden, whose learning and iudgement I haue alwaies specially reuerence) What paines he hath already taken: and with what good success, is to be Chirographall (that is to say, the present time) (to his deuined prifte both at home and abroad) can open unto us, and succyding Ages, to the honour of our Nation, shall for ever hereafter remember. For by his meanes this flourishing Iland, which heretofore was scarce knowne to her owne Inhabitants, is nowe both knowne and had in estimation among Strangers, who take pleasure to reade and understand, what he hath written thereof. And were the Historical part as exactly set forth in English as his Description in Latin: I suppose that few Natiōs might then match vs for an History, wheras now, (in that one poynt) we come short of all others, that are not merely barbarous. For like unnaturl children, altogether carelesse of those duties we owe to that place, where we first received our being, we spend our time cyther in catching flies with Domitian, or else in decking forraigne Stories with our best English furniture: suffering our Owne, in the meanc time, to sit in ragges, to the blemish of our Country, which (hauing beene heretofore famous for Armes, and honoured with the presence and residence of many worthy Emperours, Kings, and Captaines: and at this daye renommed both for Armes and Artes, under the happy gouernement of a Virgin-Queene admired in all parts of the world) can yet hardly finde any man in so long a time of ciuitie, and peace, to take partie on her, and to attire her like her selfe.

If this my attempt may give occasion to the Gentleman
B 3 before

Roman Emperors.

Ant: Bassianus Caracalla.
 Popilius Macrinus.
 Varus Heliogabalus.
 Alexander Seuerus.
 Maximinus.
 Gordianus. (1/2/3)
 Philippus Arabs.
 Decius.
 Valerianus.
 Gallienus.
 Flavius Claudius.
 Valer. Aurelianus.
 Tacitus.
 Valer. Probus.
 Carus Narbonensis.
 Diocletianus.

Maximianus Herc. Cæs.
Galerius Maximinus Cæs.
Fl. Constantius Chlorus Cæs.
Constantinus Magnus

Constantius Magnus.
Constantius.
Constans.

Constantius.

Julianus Apostata.

Junianus. ——————
Valentinianus primus. ——————

Gratianus. — Valentinianus Secundus. —

Honorius. —

Theodosius iunior. — — —

I have (both in this Table, and
in another of the following pages)

*Lieutenant in steede of Legatus,
in the Roman Stories.*

In the time of Constantine the Great, as being Deputy under the Emperor, the destining of the Empire, divers offices (were) instituted by divers names, their authority cannot be precisely known, for heare to place them here.

I have drawn lines only against
of Blanks) to supply the defect of Lines
are not known.

Deposits in Britain.

From the time of *Caracalla*, to *Constantin the Great*, *viz.* for the space of one hundred yeares, or thereabout, the names of *Lieutenants* are not extant, neither is there any mention at all made in Histories, of the affaires in *Britannie*, vnyll the time of *Gallienus*, who held the Empire about fiftie yeares after *Caracalla*.

Pacatianus, Dep

S Martinus.

2 Allplus.

{ Chrysanthus.
{ Victorinus.

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THE FIRST
Booke of the Historie of
England.

**Declaring the estate of the Isle of Britanny under the
Roman Empire.**



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of this Iland, in neerenesse to that continent, and also of
the vnsimilitie in language, religion, and policie, betwene
the most ancient Gauls, and Britans.

Touching the name of *Britannie*, with the Gouvernours
and state therof before the *Romans* arruall, as they are
of them had bin left vs, by approued testimonies of former
ages: so I think it not now requisite, therein, either to recite
the different conjectures of other Men: or of my selfe, con-
stantly to affirm any thing, as wel for that those matters haue
so, for that I suppose, in ayming at such antique Originals
(there being but one truth amidst many errors) a man may
much more easily shooe wide, than hit the marke. I purpose
therefore (omitting *Etymologies* of wo:ds, and varietie of
opinions concerning the first inhabitants and their doings)
to take the name and affaires of this Ile, in such sort, as they
were first known to the *Romans* in the time of *Iulius Cesar*,
when the *Roman* state, (which had tryed all kindes of go-
nours, and *Tribunes*) began to be vslurped by a few, and soone
after submitted it selfe to one; For about the fourte and fifti-
eth yeare before the birth of our Sauiour Christ, *Cesar* be-
Rome, and hauing brought some part of that country vnder
obedience, intended a voyage with an army into *Britannie*,
partly, vpon pretence of reuenge (for that the *Britans* had
diuerse times ayded the *Gauls* in their warres against the
Romans) and partly, to satisfie himselfe with the sight of the
Iland, and the knowledge of the inhabitants, and their cu-
stomes; whereto he might perhaps be the more readily in-
duced, by Reason of his owne naturall inclination to vntake
great and difficult attempts, and with the increase
of his owne glory, to enlarge the Limits of the *Roman* Em-
pire, vnto which at that time the soueraignetie of the whole
world

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world was, by diuine prouidence, allotted. And to this end
he thought good to be first informed of the nature of the
people, and of such hauenis in the Ile, as were most com-
modious to receive any shipping that should come thither,
which things were in a manner vknowne to the *Gauls*, by
reason the Ilanders suffered none to haue access to them,
but merchants onely, neither knew, euen they, any other
places, than the sea coasts, and those partes of the Ile, that
confronted the continent of *Gallia*. Whereupon, *Cesar* sup-
posing it necessary to make som discouery, before he adue-
tured himselfe in the action, sent *Caius Volusenus* in a long
boat, with instructions, to inquire of the quantity of the
Iland, of the condition of the inhabitants, of their man-
ner of making warre, of their governement in peace, and
what places were fittest for landing. After which dispatch
made, himselfe, with all his forces (which were newly retur-
ned from making warre beyond the *Rhene*) marched into
the country of the *Morini* (from whence was the shortest
cutt into *Britannie*) for there he had appointed his ship-
ping to meet him.

In the meane time, his purpose being known to the *Brit-
ans*, by report of the Marchants, (that traded with them)
diuerse States of the Ile, (either fearing the greatness of the
Roman power, or affecting innovation for some private
respects) sent over Ambassadors, who promised, in their
names, to deliuer hostages, for assurance of their obediēce
to the people of *Rome*; but *Cesar*, though he was fully resol-
ued to enter the Iland, yet he curteously entertained their
offer, exhorting them to continue in that good minde, as
a meane to draw on the rest, in following the example of
their submission. For the better affecting wherof, he ap-
pointed *Comius* the chiefe Gouvernor of the *Atrebates*, (as
a man, whose wisdome, and faith he had tried, and whom
he knew to be respected of the *Britans*) to accompanie the
Ambassadors in their returne, giving him in charge to goe
to

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to as many Cities, as wold permitte him accessse; and to perswade the Rulers to submit them selues, as some of their Nation had already done: and further, to let them knowe, that himselfe, with all conuenient speede, would come thither. The Princes of the Ile, being as yet vnacquainted with any ciuell kindes of gouernement, maintained quarrells and factions among themselues, whereby, while one sought to offend another, and to enlarge his owne parte, by encroching vpon his neighbours (not obseruing, that what they gained in particular one of another, they lost all together in the generall reckoning) they made an open paslge in the end, for the *Romans* to conquer the whole (a thing common to the with other Nations, who haue found the like effects to proceede from the like causes.) For, the most part of the *Britans*, in those daies, delighted in warre, neglecting husbandry, or happily not then knowing the use of it. Their maner of living, and customes, were much like to those of the inhabitants of *Gallia*. Their diet was such as Nature yeeded of her selfe, without the industrie of man: for though they had great store of cattel, yet they liued (specially in the inland countries) with milk. It was held among them, as a thing vnlawful, to eate of a hare, a henne, or a goose, and yet they norished them all for recreations sake. Their apparrell was made of the skinnes of beastes, though their bodies were (for the most parte) naked and stained with woad, which gaue them a blewish colour, and (as they supposed) made their aspect terrible to their enemis in battaile. Their houses were compact of stakes, reedes, and booghes of trees, fastned together in a round circle. They had tenne or twelue wiues a peece common among them, though the issue were alwayes accounted his, that first married the mother being a mayden. They were, in stature, taller than the *Gauls*, in wit, more simple, as being lesse ciuell.

By this time, *Volusenus*, (who durst not set foote on land

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to hazard himselfe amongst the barbarous *Ilanders*) returned to *Cesar* (namely, the fift day after his setting forth) and made relation of such things as he had seene, & heard, by report, in rouning vp and downe the coast in view of the Iland. *Cesar* hauing composed some tumults in the hither parte of *Gallia*, that he might leaue no enemy behinde his backe to annoy him in his absence, pursued the enterprize of *Britannie*, hauing, to that end, prepared a Nauie, which consisted of about foure score shippes of burden (a number sufficient, as he thought, for the transportation of two *Legions*) besides his long boats, wherein the *Quasitor*, the Lieutenants, and other officers of the Campe were to be imbarqued. There were also eighteene ships of burden (that lay winde bound about eight miles from the Port) appoynted to waft ouer the horsemen. *P. Sulpicius Rufus* a Lieutenant of a *Legion*, was commanded to keepe the hauent selfe with such power, as was thought sufficient. These things being thus ordered, and a good parte of the summer now spent, *Cesar* put out to sea about the third watch of the night, hauing giuen direction, that the horsemen should embarke in the ypper hauen, and follow him, wherein while they were somewhat slacke, *Cesar* with his shipping, about the fourth houre of the day, arriuied vpon the coast of *Britannie*, where hee behelde the Clifffes possessed with a multitude of barbarous people, rudely armed, and ready to make resistance.

The nature of the place was such, as by reason of the stiepe hyls enclosing the sea on each side in a narrow strait, it gaue great aduantage to the *Britans* in casting downe their darts vpon their enemies vnderneath them. *Cesar* finding this place vnfitt for landing his forces, put off from the shore, and cast anchor, expecting the rest of his Fleet, and in the meane time calling a councell of the Lieutenants, and Tribunes of the souldiers, he declared vnto them, what hee had understood by *Volusenus*, and directed what he would

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haue doney warning them, that (as the state of the warre, & specially the sea-service required) they would be ready to weigh anchor, and to remoue, to, and fro (vpon occasions) at a beck, and in an instant.

This done, hauing aduantage, both of wind, and tide, he set forward with his Nauy, about foure Leagues from that place, and then lay at anchor in view of the open, and plaine shore. But the Ilanders, vpon intelligence of the *Romans* purpose, had sent thither (before *Cesars* comming) a company of horse men and chariots called *Esseda*, (which they then vsed in their warres) and following afterwardes with the rest of their forces, empeached their ennemis from landing, whose shippes, by reason of their huge bulkes (drawing much water) could not come neare to the shoare, so as the *Roman* souldiers were thereby enforced in places vnsknowne (their bodies being charged with their armor) to leape into the water, and encounter the *Britans*, who assayled them nimblly with their dartes, and draue their horses and charriots, with maine force, vpon them: The *Romans* being therewith terrified, as men vnaquainted with that kind of fight, fayled much of the woonted courage, which they had shewed in their former land-servises; and *Cesar* perciuing it, caused the long boates (which seemed more strange to the barbarous people, and were more seruiceable, by reason of their swiftnesse in motion) to put off, by little and little, from the greater shippes, and to rowe towardes the shoare, from whence they might more easily charge the *Britans*, with their arrowes, slinges, and other warrelike engins, which (being then vnsknowne to the Ilanders, as also the fashion of the shippes, and motion of the oares in the long boates, hauing stricken them with feare and amazement) caused them to make a stand, and afterwardes to drawe backe a little.

But the *Roman* souldiers making no haste to pursue them, by reason of the water, which they suspected in some places

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places to be deepe and dangerous: the Standard-bearer of the Eagle for the tenth legion, praying that his attempt might proue successfull to the legion, cryed out with a lowde voyce in this manner.

“ Fellow souldiers, leape out of your boats, and follow me, except you meane to betray your Standard to the enemy: For mine owne part, I meane to discharge the dutie I owe to the Common-wealth, and to my Generall. This said, he cast himselfe into the water, and carried the Standard boldly against the *Britans*. Whereupon the souldiers exhorting one another to follow the Ensigne, what fortune soever might befall, with common consent leapt out of their long boates, one seconding another; and so wading through the water, at length got to shore, where began a sharpe and bloody fight on both sides; The *Romans* were much incumbred, by reason, that they coulde neither keep their ranks, nor fight vpon firme ground, nor folow their owne Standards, for euery one as he came on land, ranne confusedlie, to that which was next him.

Some of the *Britans* (who knew the flattes, and shalow places, espying the *Romans*, as they came singlē out of their shippes) pricked forward their horses, and set vpon them, overlaying them with number, and finding them vndealdy and vnready to make any great resistance, by reason of the depth of the water, and weight of their armor, while the greater part of the barbarous people with their darts assailed them fiercely vpon the shore: which *Cesar* perciuing, commaunded the Cock-boates, and Skowts to be manned with Souldiers, whom he sent in all haste to rescue their fellowes. There was a souldier of *Cesars* company called *Cassius Scana*, who, with some other of the same band, was carried, in a small boat, vnto a rocke, which the ebbing sea, in that place, had made accessible. The *Britans* espying them, made thitherward; the rest of the *Romans* escaping, *Scana* alone was left vpon the rocke, to withstand the

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the furie of the enraged multitude, that assailed him with their dardes, which he received vpon his sheld, and thrust at them with his speare, till it was broken, and his helmet and sheld lost; Then being tired with extreame toile, and dangerously wounded, he betooke himselfe to flight, and (carrying two light harnesses on his backe) with much difficulty recovered *Cesars* Tent, where he craved pardon, for making so bold an attempt without commandement of his Generall. *Cesar* did both remit the offence, and reward the offender, by bestowing vpon him the office of a *Centurion*. This was that *Scæna*, who afterwards gaue good cause to haue his name remembred in the *Roman* story for the memorable seruice he did to *Cesar* in the time of the ciuill warres betweene him and *Pompey* at the battaile neere *Dyr-rachium*. The *Romans* hauing at length got footing on drie land, gaue a fresh charge vpon the *Britans*, and in the end enforced them to turne their backs, and leaue the shore, though they could not pursue them farre into the Land for want of horsemen (*Cesars* accustomed fortune failing him in this one accident.) The *Britans*, after this ouerthrow, assembling themselues together (vpon consultation had amongst them) sent Ambassadors to *Cesar*, promising to deliuer in pledges or to doe whatsoeuer else hee would commaund them. With these Ambassadors came *Comius* of *Arras*, whom *Cesar* had sent before out of *Gallia* into *Britannie*, where, hauing deliuered the Message he had then in charge, he was apprehended, committed to prison, and now after the battaile released. The chiefe States of the *Britans* seeking to excuse their attempts, laid the blame vpon the multitude, who being the greater number, and wilfully bent to take armes, could neither by perswasion, nor authority be restrained: and they pretended their owne ignorance, as being a free people, and not experienced in the customes of other Nations. *Cesar*, although he reproued them for making warre in that maner (considering that

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of their own accord they had sent ambassadors to him (before his arriuall in *Britannie*) to desire peace: yet was content to pardon them, vpon delivery of pledges, whereof some he received presently, and therest being to come frō renowne places, he appointed to be sent in by a certaine day; So the *Britans* were dismissed, to returne into their countries, & in the meane time there came diuise Princes from other parts of the Ile to submit themselues and their Cities to *Cesar*. The fourth day after the *Romans* landing, the ships before mentioned, appointed for transportation of *Cesars* horsemen, hauing a fauourable gale of wind, put out to the sea from the vpper hauen, and approching neere the Iland, in view of the *Roman* Campe, a sodaine storme arose, and scattered them, drivning some of them backe againe to the Port from whence they came, and some others vpon the lower part of the Iland westward, where, after they had cast anchor, (their keeles being almost ouerwhelmed with the waues,) they were carried by violence of the storme in the night into the maine, and with very great perill recovered a harbor in the continent. The same night the Moone was at the full, at which time commonly the Sea in those partes is much troubled, and ouerfloweth the bankes by reaon of the high tides, (a matter vnowne to the *Romans*) insomuch as the long boates, which transported the army, then lying vpon the shore, were filled with the flood, and the shippes of burden that lay at anchor, were beaten with the storme, and split in peeces, the greater number of them perishing in the water, and the rest being made altogether vnserviceable, (their anchors lost, and tacklings broken;) Wherewith the *Romans* were much perplexed, for that they neither had any other shippes to transport them backe againe, nor any meanes to repaire, what the tempest had ruined: and *Cesar* had formerly resolued to winter in *Gallia*, by reason hee was vnfurnished of vittaille to maine-taine the army during the winter season. Which beeing

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knowne to the chiefe States of the *Britans*, (who had metto together about the accomplishment of such things, as *Cesar* had commaunded them) they supposed a fit oportunitie was offered them to revolt, while the *Romans* wanted horsemen, shipping, and all maner of prouision; the number of their forces seeming also the lesse, in respect of the small circuit of their Campe, (*Cesar* having transported his *Legions* without any carriages, or such like warrelike necessaries.) Wherevpon they concluded to keepe them from vittaile, and to prolong the warre, till winter; assuring themselves, that if they could either vanquish the *Romans*, or barre them from returning thence, there would no foraine Nation after them aduenture to set foote againe in *Britannie*. Hercvpon they entred into a second conspiracy, conueyng themselves by stealth out of the *Roman* Campe, and gathering company to them priuily from diverse parts, to make head against their ennemis. *Cesar*, albeit he were ignorant of the *Britans* purpose, yet supposing that the estate of his army, and the losse of his shippes were knowne to them, and considering that they had broken day with him, in detaining their pledges contrary to the contract, he suspected that, which afterwardes proued true. And therefore to prouide remedies against all chaunces, he caused Corne to be brought dayly out of the fields into his Campe, and such shippes as could not be made fit for seruice, were vsed to repaire the rest, and such other things, as were wanting thereto, he appointed to be brought out of the continent; by which meanes, and the diligence of his souldiers, with the losse of xij. shippes, the rest of his Navy was made able to beare saile, and brooke the seas againe. While these things were in doing, the *Seauenth Legion*, (according to custome) was sent forth a forraging, till which time, the *Britans* revolt was not certainly knowne, for that some of them remained a broad in the fieldes, and others came ordinarilie into the *Roman* Camp. The Warders in

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the Station before the Campe, gaue notice to *Cesar*, that the same way which the *Legion* wet, there appeared a greater dust, then was wont to be seene. *Cesar* mistrusting some new practise of the *Britans*, commaunded the *Cohorts* (that kept warde) to march thither, appointing two others to supply their roomes, and the rest of his forces to arme themselves with speede and follow him. When he approached neere the place descryed, he perceiued his souldiers to be ouercharged with the *Britans*, who assailed them on all sides with their darts. For the *Britans* having conueyed their Corne from all other parts (this only excepted) and suspecting that the *Romans* would come thither, they did lie in the woods all night, to intercept them, and finding them dispersed, and vnready, they sodainely set vpon them, (as they were reaping) killing a few of them, and disordering the rest with their horses and chariots. The manner of their fighting in chariots was thus; First, they vsed to ride round about their enimies forces, casting their darts, where they saw aduantage, and oftentimes with the fiercenesse of their horses, and whirling of their chariot wheelles, they broke their ennemis ranks, and being gotten in among the troopes of horsemen, they would leape out of their chariots, and fight on foot. The chariot-driuers in the meane time withdrew themselves by little and little out of the battaile, and placed themselves in such sort, as their maisters (beeing ouer-matched by their enemies) might readily recover their chariots, so that in their fighting they performed the offices, both of horsemen in swiftnes of motion, and also of footmen in keeping their ground; and by daily vse, and exercise, they were growne so expert in managing their horses, as driving them forcibly downe a steepe hill, they were able to stay or turne them in the mid way, yea, to runne along the beame, to standfirme vpon the yoke, and to retorne thence speedily into their chariots againe.

The Romans being much troubled with this new kind of fight, *Cesar* came in good time to the rescue. For vpon his approch, the Britans gaue ouer the skirmish, yet keeping still their ground as maisters of the field, and the Romans for feare, retired themselues to their Generall, who thought it no poynct of wisedome, to hazard his forces in a place vnowne; but having stayed there a while, conducted the *Legions* backe againe to his Campe, and in the meane time, the Britans that were in the field, dispersed themselves and shruncke away. After this there were for many dayes together, continual tempests, which kept the Romans in their Campe, and hindered the Britans from making any open attempt, though they sent messengers secretly into diuersc partes of the Ile, publishing abroade, what a small number of their enemies was left, what great hope there was of a rich booty, and what apparant likelioode of recovering their liberty, if they could drive the Romans from their Campe. Hereupon in short time they assembled a great number of horse and footemen, to put this their purpose in execution; *Cesar* vnderstanding therof, made preparation for defence, hauing gotten also about thirtie horsemen (which *Cominius* of *Arras* brought ouer with him) whose service he supposed very necessary, if the Britans (according to their wonted maner) should seeke to saue themselues by flight. The *Legions* were placed in battaile array before his Campe. Then the Britans beganne the fight, which had not long continued when they gaue backe, and fled, the Romanes pursuing them as farre as they durst, killing many whome they ouertooke, and burning houses and townes as they returned to their Campe. The same day the Britans sent Ambassadours to *Cesar*, desiring peace, which after long sute, was granted, vpon condition, that the number of the pledges (which was before imposed) should be now doubled, and speedily sent ouer into *Gallia*. For the *Equinoctiall* drawing neere,

neere, *Cesar* made haste thither, doubting his crazed shippes would not be well able to brooke the seas in winter. Wherevpon, taking aduantage of the next faire winde, hee embarqued his forces about midnight, and with the greatest parte of his Fleete, arriued in the continent. The *Roman Senate* (vpon relation of these his seruices) decreed a supplication for him, for the space of twentie daies.

In the spring of the yeare following, *Cesar* hauing pacified some tumultes in *Gallia*, prosecuted the enterprize of *Britannie*, and to that end he had prepared a Fleet of new shippes, well appointed, and commodiously built for landing his forces (the want whereof hee had found before, to his great losse) and a sufficient army consisting of fve *Legions*, and a proportionall number of horse, which hee embarked at *Portus Iccium* about the Sunnesetting, hauing a faire southerne winde to sette them forward; which failing them about midnight, the tide diverted their course, so as in the morning hee discouered the Iland on his left hand, and then folowing the turning of the tide, he commanded his souldiers to vle their oares, that they might reach that part of the Ile, where they had found best landing the sumner before; wherin they tooke such paines, as their shippes of burden kept way with their long boates and lighter vessels. About noone they landed on the shore, where there appeared no man to make resittance: the cause whereof was (as *Cesar* afterwardes learned by such prisoners, as he tooke) for that the Britans having assembled themselues together in armes at the Sea side, were so terrified with the sight of the shippes (which of all sortes were esteemed aboue eight hundred saile) that they left the shore, and ran to hide themselues in the vpland country. *Cesar* (vpon intelligence by Fugitives, where the Britissh forces lay) leauing at the Sea side, ten *Coborts* & three hundred horse to gard the shippes then lying at anchor,

chor, (whereof *Quintus Atrius* had the charge) marched forward, with the rest of his army in the night, about xii. miles into the land, where he espied a multitude of *Britans* flocked together neare a riuver, hauing gotten the vpper ground, from whence they beganne to charge the *Romans* with their horse and chariots; but being repulsed by *Cesars* horsemen, they fled, and hidde themselves in the woods, in a place, which being notably stengthned both by Nature, and Arte, they had vised as a fortresse in their ciuill warres among themselves. For, by reason there were many great trees cut downe, and layd ouerthwart the passages round about, there could hardly any entraunce bee found into the wood; howbeit the *Britans* themselves would oft times sally forth vpon aduantage, and impeach the *Romans*, where they attempted to enter. Heerepon *Cesar* commaunded the souldiers of the *Seventh Legion* to make a *Testudo*, and to raise a *Mount* against the place; by which meanes, after losse of men on both sides, the *Romans*, in the end, got the *Forte*, and chased the *Britans* out of the wood; but *Cesar* would not suffer his souldiers to pursue them farre, in regarde the place was vndeowne, and a great part of the day being then spent, he thought it fit to bestow the rest in fortifying his *Campe*. The next day in the morning, he sent out horsemen and footemen three severall wayes to pursue them that fled; but, before they had gotten sight of the *Britans*, certaine horsemen sent from *Quintus Atrius* (who had charge of the shipping) brought newes, that a great tempest the night before had distressed his shippes, and beaten them vpon the shoare, their anchors and gables being not able to hold them, nor the Mariners to guide them, or to endure the force of the storme. Wherevpon *Cesar* caused the *Legions*, and horsemen to be sent for backe againe, and marched with speede towards the sea side, where he found his nauy in ill plighe; forty of his shippes being cleane cast away, and the rest with

with great difficulty seeming likely to be recovered. For effecting whereof hee tooke some *Shipwrightes* out of the *Legions*, and sent for others out of the continent; writing to *Labienus* (who had the charge of certaine *Legions* there, and the guarde of *Portus Iccius*) that he should prepare as many shippes as hee could, to be sent ouer vnto him with expedition. And though it were a worke of great toyle, yet he thought it necessary to haue all the shippes haled a shoare, and to be brought into the campe, where his land forces lay, that one place might be a safegard to the both. In the accomplishment hereof he spent ten daies (the souldiers scarce intermitting their labour in the night time, till all was finished.) And then hauing fortified his *Campe*, and left there the same forces (which were before appoineted to keepe the harbor) he returned to the place, whence he dislodged vpō *Atrius* his aduertisement; where he found the number of the *Britans* much increased by confluence of people from sundry partes within the Iland. The chiefe commandement and direction for the warre was by publicke consent of the States of the Ile assigned to *Cassibilis*, the boundes of whose territory were diuided from the maritime citties, by the riuver *Thamisis*, & were distant from the sea about foure score miles. There had bin of long time continuall warre betweene him, and some other Princes of the Countries neare adioyning: but nowe both partes (fearing to be ouer-runne by a forraigne ennemy) neglected priuate respects, and ioyned their forces together, appoining him to be their leader, as a man of whose valour, and sufficiencie in militare affaires they had good experiance. The *Roman* army being come in view of their ennemis *Campe*, the *Britans* pressed forward to beginne the fight with their horsemen and chariots, and *Cesar* sent out his horsemen to encounter them, so as the battaile was maintained with great resolution on both partes, and the euent thereof seemed doubtfull, till in the end, the *Britans* gave ground,

ground, and fled through the woods to the hilles, many of them being slaine in the chase, and some of the *Romans* also, who aduenterously pursued them too farre. Not long after, while the *Romans* (suspecting no danger) were occupied in fortifying their Campe, the *Britans* sallied sodainly out of the woods, and made an assault vpon the warders, that kept station before the Campe; to whose ayde *Cesar* sent out two *Cohorts* (the chiefe of two *Legions*) which making a Lane through the midst of the *British* forces, ioyned themselues with their distressed fellowes, and rescued them from the perill, though *Quintus Laborius Turnus* a Tribune of the souldiers was slaine in that enterprise. But new *Cohorts* comming to supply the former, the *Britans* were repulsed, and sought to saue themselues by flight. By the maner of this bataile, (which was fought in view of the *Roman* Campe) the *Romans* perceiued the aduantage, which the *Britans* had of them, and how ill themselues were appointed for such a kind of fight, when by reason of the weight of their armour, they could neither pursue such as fled, nor durst leaue their *Ensignes*, nor were able (without great disaduantage) to encounter the *British* horsemen, which oft times gaue ground of purpose, & haing withdrawne themselues by little and little from the *Legions*, would leape out of their chariots and fight on foote; the maner of their fighting with horses and chariots, being a like dangerous to those that retired, and those that pursued. Besides, they diuided their forces into companies (when they fought) and had severall stations, with great distances betweene them, one troope seconding an other, and the sound and fresh men yeelding supplies to the wounded and weary. The day following the *Britans* were desryued vpon the hills a fare off, scattered here and there in great numbers together, being not very forward to begin a new fight, till *Cesar* haing sent out threec *Legions*, and all his horsemen vnder the conduct of *C. Trebonius* the Lieutenant

nant, to go a forraging, they flocked sodainly together from all parts, and set vpon the forragers, not sparing to assayle the *Ensignes* and *Legions* themselues, who strongly resisted them & made them turne their backs; whē the *Roman* horsemen also eagerly pursued thē, neuer giuing ouer the chase (as being cōfident in the ayde of the *Legions* that followed them) vntill they had driven them headlong before them, killing all those they ouertooke, and giuing the rest no time, either to gather themselues together, or to make a stand, or once to forsake their chariots. After this overthrow, many of the barbarous people (who had come fro diuerser parts to ayde their countrymen) shrunke away; and *Cesar* vnderstanding, what course the rest of the *Britans* meant to hold in prosecuting the warre, led his army to the bounds of *Cassibelins* country vpon the riuver *Thamis*, which was passable on foot, in one place onely, and that with some difficulty. When he came thither, he perceiued that the *Britans* had great forces in readines on the further side of the riuver, the bankes whereof were fortifid with sharpe pointed stakes or piles, (about the bignes of a man's thigh, & bound about with lead,) pitched neare the shore, to impeach their passage; & some others of the same kind (the remnants wherof are to be seene at this day) were plāted couerly vnder water in the maine riuver. Wherof *Cesar* haing intelligence (by some Fugitives, and prisoners that he had taken) commanded the horsemen, first, to enter the riuver, and the *Legions* to follow, so as (the dangerous places being discouered) the *Romans* waded through (their heads only appearing aboue water) and charged the *Britans* with such violence, as they forced them to forsake the shore, & betake themselues to flight.

Cassibelis seeing no likely-hood to maintaine the warre any longer by force, dismissed the greater part of his power, and keeping with him about 4000. chariots onely, retired into the woods, and places of most safety, driving

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men, and cattell before him out of the fields, all that way, by which he knew the *Romans* should passe with their army, whose horsemen (as they roued vp and downe to take booties) he surprised with his chariots, and distressed them in such sort, as they durst not march forward, but keeping themselves in their strength, gaue ouer their former purpose, and from thenceforth socht only to annoy the *Britans*, by spoiling and burning their houses and townes.

In the meane time the *Trinobantes*, one of the chiefe States in those parts sent Ambassadors to *Cesar*, promising to submit themselves, and to be at his commaundement. There was also one *Mandubratius*, who had fled ouer to *Cesar*, when he was in *Gallia*, and was now become a follower of his fortune, while preferring the satisfaction of his owne discontented humor, before the aduancement of the common cause, he serued as an instrument, to betray his Natiue country, abusing the credite he had with his countrimen, by working their submision, to his owne dishonor, and the aduantage of a forreine ennemy. His father *Imantius*, (hauing bin sometimes chiefe ruler of the Citty of the *Trinobantes*, and well esteemeid among them) was slaine by *Cassibelis* the present gouernor, against whom the Cittizens desired *Cesar* to protect *Mandubratius*, & to commit vnto him the gouernement of their City, which *Cesar* granted vpon deliury of a certaine number of pledges, and a sufficient proportion of vittaile for prouision of his army. Herevpon the *Ceni-magni*, *Segontiaci*, *Ancalutes*, *Bibroci*, and *Cassi*, petty States there about, sent Ambassadors, and yelded themselves to *Cesar*, who vnderstood by them, that *Cassibelis* his Towne (being wel stored with me and cattell,) was not farre from thence. This Towne (as all others so called of the *Britans* in those dayes) was onely a circuit of ground enclosed with woods, and marshes, or else intrenched with a rampire of earth about it. *Cesar*, com-
ing with his *Legion* to this place, (which he found very strong,

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strong, as being fortified, both naturally, and also by the industry of man) begun to assaile it on both sides. The *Britans* hauing expected a while, the euent of the enterprise, and perceiving themselves vnable to withstand the assault, issued out at a back way, where many of them being slaine, and some taken (as they fled,) the towne it selfe, and all the prouisions within it, were left as a spoyle to the *Romans*.

While these things were in doing among the *Trinobantes*, *Cassibelis* dispatched messengers into the country of *Cantium*, that lies vpon the sea. The inhabitants of those parts were the more ciuil & better furnished to make warre then any other of the Ile. The country at that time was governed by foure Kings, (as *Cesar* himselfe calleth them) either for that they had amōg the a kind of absolute gouernment in feuerall, or else, for that being the Register of his own acts, he supposed it would be more for his glory to be reputed a conquerer of Kings. Their names were *Cingetorix*, *Caruilius*, *Taximagus*, and *Segonax*, whom *Cassibelis* then required to raise all the power they could make, & on the sodaine to assayle the *Romans* forces, that guarded their shippes at the sea side. This was attempted accordingly, but with ill successe, for that the *Romans* hauing timely advertisement of their purpose, preuented the execution thereof, by setting vpon them as they drew neere the *Roman* army; and so, after a great slaughter made of the *Britans* (*Cingetorix* a noble captaine and one of their Princes being taken prisoner) the *Romans* returned in safety to their Campe.

Cassibelis, hearing of the vnhappy issue of this enterprise, after so many losses sustained on his parte, (his country being wasted with warre, and himselfe in a maner forsaken, by the reuolt of the citties round about (which most of all discouraged him) sent Ambassadors to *Cesar* by *Comius of Arras*, offering to submit himselfe vpon reasonable condicions. *Cesar* determining to winter in *Gallia* (the state of

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his affaires there requiring it) and the summer being almost spent, commaunded, that he should deliver certaine pledges for assurance of his obedience, and that he should offer no wrong, nor giue cause of offence to *Mandubratius*, or the *Trinobantes*, whom he had taken into speciall protection. And then hauing imposed a Tribute, to be paied yearly by the *Britans*, to the people of *Rome*, he marched towards the sea side, where he imbarqued his forces, and arriued with them safely in the continent. Thus *Cesar* hauing rather shewed some part of *Britannie* to the *Romans*, then made a conquest of the whole: supposed hee had done sufficiently for his owne glory, in vndertaking a matter so rare and difficult in thole times. At his comming to *Rome* he presented there certaine captiues, (which he had taken in the *British* warres) whose strangenesse of shape and behauour filled the peoples eyes, both with wonder, and delight. He offered also in the Temple of *Venus genitrix* a surcote embrodered with *British* pearle, as a *Trophy*, and spoyle of the *Ocean*, leauing to posterity a perpetuall remembrance of his enterprise in this Iland, to the honour, both of his owne name, and of the *Roman* nation.

After the death of *Julius Cesar*, (by reason of the ciuill warres among the *Romans*) the Ile of *Britannie* was, for a time neglected, and *Augustus Cesar* being settled in the Empire (which was then growne to such greatnes, as it seemed euен cumbred therewith) accounted it good pollicy to containe the same within his knowne bounds. Besides, the attempt was like to proue dangerous, and a matter of very great expence, to send an army so far off, to make war with a barbarous nation for desire of glory onely (no speciaill cause besides mouing thereto.) Howbeit (as some writers report) about twenty yeeres after *Julius Cesar* his first entrance, *Augustus* intended a voyage hither, in person, alledging for pretence of the warre, the wrong offred to the *Roman* state by such Princes of the Ile, as had for cer-

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taine yeeres with-held the Tribute, which *Cesar* his predecessor had imposed. Vpon intelligence wherof, the *Britans* sent ouer Ambassadours, who meeting the Emperour in *Gallia Celsica* declared their submision and desired pardō; And the better to win fauor, they had carried ouer certain gifts of good valew, to be presented as offrings in the *Roman Capitol*, (hauing already learned the art to flatter for aduantage, and to appease Princes by rewards.) Hereupon a conditionall peace was granted them, and the Emperour hauing pacified some troubles in *Gallia*, returned to *Rome*. Then began the *Ilanders* to pay tribute, and custome for all kind of wares which they exchanged with the *Gauls*, as namely Iuory boxes, Iron chaines, and other trinkets of amber, and glasse, which were transported to and fro both out of *Gallia* and *Britannie*.

The yeere following, the *Britans* hauing failed in performance of conditions, he prepared for another expeditiōn; but being set forward on his voyage, the revolt of the *Cantabrians*, and *Asurians* stayed him from proceeding any further therin. After which time the *Britans* were left to themselves, to enioy their liberty, and vse their owne lawes without impeachment by sorcine invaders, for that the *Romans* hauing found the sweetnes of peace, after long ciuill warres, sought rather to keep in obedience such Provinces, as had bin before time brought vnder subiection, then by attempting new conquests, to hazard the losse of that they had already gotten.

In thole dayes the Country of the *Trinobantes* in *Britannie* was gouerned by *Cuno-belin*, who kept his residence at *Camalodunum*. He began first to reclame the *Britans* from their rude behauour, and to make his estate more respested, he afterwards caused his owne image to be stamped on his Coine after the maner of the *Romans* (a custome neuer vsed among the *Britans* before his daies, and but the newly received by the *Romans* themselves; for before that

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time the *Britans* vsed rings of Iron and little plates of brasse of a certaine weight instead of Coine. During the time of his gouernment, the diuine mystery of human redemption was accomplished by the Birth of our Sauiour Christ, (*Augustus*, *Caesar* then possesing the *Roman* Empire, which hee afterwards left to *Tiberius* his adopted son, a wary and politicke Prince, who following the aduise and example of *Augustus* did neither attempt any thing in *Britannie*, nor maintaine any garrison there.

But *Caius Caligula* his successor, had a meaning to haue inuaded the Ile, had not his rash entrance into the action, and his ill successe in the *German* warre ouerthrown the interprise; by reason whereof he brought nothing to effect, but only made a ridiculous expedition, (answerable to the vanity of his humor) bringing an army into the hither parts of *Belgia*, and there hauing receiued into protection *Ad-mimus* (whom *Cuno-belin* his Father had banished) and certaine other *Britis* Fugitiues, that came with him) hee wriu-
taunting letters to the *Senate*, as though the whole Iland had yeelded it self, hauing giuen speciall charge to the messenger, that his letters should be carried in a Chariot to the *Forum*, and not deliuered to the *Consuls*, but in a full *Senate*, and in the *Temple of Mars*. Afterwards drawing his forces downe to the sea coasts of *Belgia* (whence with wonder he beheld the high clifffes of the Ile possessed with barbarous people) he placed his souldiers in battaile array vp-
on the shore, and himselfe entring into a long boat, was rowed a little way vpon the sea. But not daring to aduenture further, he returned speedily to land, and then commaunding a charge to be sounded, as though hee would haue begun a fight, he appointed his souldiers to gather cockles, & muskles, in their helmets, terming them spoiles of the *Ocean*, & meet to be preserued, as offrings due to the *Capitol*. For this exploite, he afterwards at his comming to *Rome* required a *Triumph*, and diuine honors to be assign-
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ed him; but finding the Senators, for the most part, vnwilling to giue their assent, he burst out into threats, & had slaine some of them in the place, if they had not speedily auoyded his fury. After this, himselfe in open assembly made a declaration of his journey, and what aduentures he had passed in the conquest of the *Ocean* (as himselfe vainely termed it) whereat the common people, either for feare, or flattery, gaue a generall applause; which he (taking it as a testimony of their desire, to haue him placed among their gods) rewarded in this maner. He caused a great quantity of gold and siluer to be scattered on the ground, and certaine poysoned caltrops of yron to be cast among them, whereby many were killed, partly with those enuenomed engines, and partly with the pressse one of an other (each man being earnest in gathering, and supposing an other mans gaine his owne losse.) So naturally was he inclined to all kindes of mischiefe, as he spared not the liues euen of those, whom he thought to deserue best at his hands.

But *Claudius* the Emperor, with better aduise, and successe, vndertooke the matter of *Britannie*; & first by perswasion of *Bericus* a *Britis* fugitiue, and others whom the *Romanis* had receiued into their protection (a matter that much discontented the *Britans*, and stirred them vp to revolt) he sent *Aulus Plautius* a *Roman* Senator, a man well experienced in militare affaires, to take charge of the army then remaining in *Gallia*, & to transport it into the Iland, whereat the souldiers grudged, cōplaining that they should now make warre out of the world, and by protracting time with vnecessary delayes, they discouered openly their vnwillingnesse to enter into the action, till *Narcissus* a fauorite of *Claudius*, being sent to appease them, went vp into *Plautius* his Tribunall seat, and there, in an oration, declared to the souldiers the causes of his comming, and exhorted them, not to shrinke for feare of vncertaine dangers: that the enterprise it selfe, the more perillous it seemed, the more

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more honorable it wold be to atchiue it: that themselues were the men whom the heauens had ordained to enlarge the bounds of the *Roman Empire*, and to make their owne names famous in the vtmost parts of the earth. But the souldiers at the first being moued with disdaine, cryed out in seditious maner (to *Saturnalia*,) as though they had bin then ready to solemnize a feast, at which the Custome was, that seruants should weare their Maisters apparrell, & represent their persons. Howbeit *Narcissus* giuing way to their fury for the present, did afterwards preuaile so farre with them, as partly for shame, and partly for hope of reward, they seemed content to follow *Plantius*, whithersoeuer he would conduct them. Then were the *Legionary* & *Auxiliary* souldiers diuided into thre parts, so to bee embarqued, to the end, that if they shold be impeached in one place, they might land in another. In crossing the sea, their shippes were shaken, & beaten backe with a contrary wind; albeit their courage fayled not, but rather increased, by reason of a fiery leame shooting from the *East* towrdes the *West* (the selfsame way that they directed their course) which they interpreted as a token of good successe. And therupon hoysing saile, they set forward againe, and with some difficulty (through the contrariety of wind and tide,) arrived in the Iland without any resistance, by reason that the *Britans* doubted not their comming; but then finding themselues surprised on the sodaine, they ran dispersedly to hide themselues in Woods and Marishes, holding it their best course, rather to prolong the warre, and weary their enemies by delaies, then to encounter them in the open field. But *Plantius* with much labor and hazard found out at length, their chiefe place of retreat, where he killed many of them, and tooke prisoner *Cataractus* their Captaine, one of the Sonnes of *Cuno-belin*, (not long before deceased.) For this exploit the *Roman Senate* did afterwards grant him a *Triumph*, which the Emperor *Claudius* honored with his

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his owne person, accompanying him as he went vp into the *Capitol*.

The *Boduni* (then liuing vnder the gouernment of the *Gaticuchlans*) betook themselues to the protection of *Plantius*, who leauing garrisons in those parts, marched towrds a riuere, ouer which the *Britans* supposed that the *Romans* could not passe without a bridge, and therefore imagined themselues safe, hauing pitched their Campe on the other side of the water. But *Plantius* sent ouer certaine *Germans* (who being accustomed to swim ouer riuers with swift currents euен in their armor) found an easie paſſage to the further bank, and there set vpon the *Britans*, wounding the horses which drew their Chariots, and by that meanes ouerthrowing their riders, and disordering their whole power. Then was *Flavius Vespasian*: (who had the leading of the *Second Legion*) & *Sabinus* his brother, appointed to passe ouer, and to charge them on a suddaine as they were dispersed. Some of the *Britans* being slaine, and some taken prisoners, the night made an ende of the skirmish. The next morning the rest of the dispersed rout shewed themselues vpon the shore, and gaue occasion of a new fight, which continued a long time, with equall aduaſtage, till *C. Sydius Geta* being in danger to haue bin taken, recovered himselfe, and at the last enforced the *Britans* to retire. For which seruice he had afterwardes *Triumphal* honors assigned him, although he were no *Consul*. In this conflict *Vespasian* (being beset round about by the barbarous people) was in great danger, either to haue bin slaine, or taken, if he had not bin timely rescued by *Titus* his son, who then excercised the office of a *Tribune* of the souldiers, and began in his tender yeares to give some prooue of his valor. After this battaile, the *Britans* withdrew themſelues to the mouth of the riuere *Thamis*, neare the place, where it falles into the sea, and being skilfull in the shal- lows and firme grounds, passed ouer in safety, when as the

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Romans that pursued them, (not knowing the dangerous places) were oft times in great hazard. Some of the *Germani* that were most forward to aduenture (by reason of their skill in swimming) alioone as they had got to the further shore, were compassed about and killed by the barbarous people, and the rest of the *Roman* army that followed was much distressed in the passage, and sharply assailed at their coming on land; where began a bloody fight, in the which *Togodumnus* a *British* Prince, one of *Cunobelin* sonnes was slaine; whose death did nothing abate the courage of the *Britans*, but rather enflamed them with desire of revenge: for the effecting wherof, they gathered together new Forces, from diuerse parts of the Ile. *Plantius*, fearing the greatnes of their power, and being straitned in a place of disaduantage, and daunger, proceeded no farther at that time, but, fortifying only such townes as hee had alreadie taken, aduertised *Claudius* of the doubtfull state of his af-faires.

In the meane time, *Vespasian* was employed in other places of the Ile, where Fortune seemed to lay the foundation of that greatnes, vnto which he afterwardes attained; For in a short space, he foughthirty times with the *Britans*, ouercomming two warlike Nations, and taming the fierce *Belge*, whose ancestors, comming hither at the first out of *Gallia Belgica*, either to take booties, or to make war, gaue the name of their owne Country to such places as they had subdued: (a custome commonly vsed among the *Gauls*, when they seated themselves in any partes of this Land) With like fortunate successe *Vespasian* proceeded in attempting, and conquering the Ile *Vectis*, that lieth on the south side of *Britannie*, when *Claudius* the Emperor being now furnished of all things necessary for the *British* expeditiōn set forward with a mighty army, consisting of horse-men, footmen, and Elephants. He marched first to *Ostia*: from thence to *Maffilia*: the rest of the voyage he made by land

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land to *Gessericum in Gallia*, where hee embarked. His forces being safely transported into the Ile, were led to-wards the riuier *Thamis*, where *Plantius* & *Vespasian* with their power attended his comming, and so the two armes being ioyned together, crossed the riuier againe. The *Britans* that were assembled to encounter them, began the fight, which was sharply maintained on both sides, till in the end, a great number of the Ilanders being slaine, the rest fled into the woods, through which the *Romans* pursued them, euē to the towne of *Camalodunum*, which had bin the Royall seat of *Cunobelin*, and was then one of the most defensible places in the dominions of the *Trinobanes*. This towne they surprised, and afterwards fortified, planting therein a *Colonicie* of old souldiers, to strengthen those parts, and to keepe the inhabitants there in obedience. Then were the *Britans* disarmed, howbeit *Claudius* remitted the confiscation of their goods; for which fauour the barbarous people erected a Temple, and an Altar vnto him, honoring him as a god. Now the States of the country round about, being so weakened by the losse of their neighbours, & their own ciuil dissensioes, as they were vnable to resist the *Roman* power any longer, began to offer their submission, promising to obey, and live peaceably vnder the *Roman* government; and so, by little, and little, the hither part of the Ile was reduced into the forme of a Province. In honor of this victory, *Claudius* was diverse times saluted by the name of *Imperator*, contrary to the *Roman* custome, which permitted it but once for an expeditiōn. The Senate of *Rome* also, vpon aduertisement of his successe, decreed, that he should be called *Britannicus*, and that his sonne should haue the same title, as a surname proper, and hereditary to the *Claudian* family. *Mesalina* his wife had the first place in counsel assignd hir, (as *Livia* the wife of *Augustus* somtimes had,) & was also licenced to ride in a chariot. At his returne to *Rome* (which was

the sixt moneth after his departure thence) hauing continued but sixteerne daies onely in the Ile) he entred the City in a *Triumph* (performed with more then vsual ceremonies of state, whercat certayne Presidents of Prouinces, and banished men were permitted to be present. On the top of his pallace was placed a Crowne set with stems, and fore-parts of ships, which the *Romans* called (*Corona nautalis*) as a signe of the conquest of the *Ocean*. Diuers captaines, that had serued vnder him in *Britannie* were honored with *Triumphal ornaments*; Yeerly playes were appointed for him, and two Arches of *Triumph* adorned with *Trophies* were erected, the one at *Rome*, the other at *Gessoriacum*, (where he embarqued for *Britannie*) to remaine to succeding ages, as perpetuall records of his victory. So great a matter was it then accounted, and a worke of such merit to haue subdued so small a part of the Iland.

In these termes stood the state of *Britannie*, when the prosecution of the warre was committed to *P. Ostorius Scapula*, who at his landing found all in an vprore, the *Britans* (that were yet vnconquered,) raunging the Confederates Country, and vsing the greater violence, for that they supposed the new Captaine as vnatquainted with his army (the winter also being then begun) would not come forth to encounter them; but he knowing well, that in such cases, the first successe breedeth, either feare, or confidence, drew together with speed his readiest *Cohorts*, and made towardes them, slaying such as resisted, and pursuing the residue, (whom he found stragled abroad) lest they should make head againe. And that a faithles and cloaked peace might not giue, either the Captaine, or souldier, any time of idle repose, he disarmed all those whom he suspected, and hemmed them in with garrisons between *Antona* and *Sabrina*.

The first that began to stirre, were the *Icenians*, a strong people, and vnshaken with warres, as hauing of their owne

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accord in former times, fought the *Romans* alliance and armity. The Countries also adioining neere vnto them, following their example, prepared themselues to fight, choosing a place, that was compassed about with a rude trench, which had a narrow entrance to empeach the comming in of horsemen. That fence the *Roman* Captaine, (although he wanted the strength of the *Legions*) went about to force with the aide of the Confederates alone, and hauing placed his *Cohorts* in rakes, he set his Troopes of horlemen also in like readines: Then giuing the signe of battaile, hee assailed the Rampire, and brake it, disordering the *Britans*, who being stricken with a kind of remorse for their rebellious attempts, and seeing the passages stopped vp on all sides, shewed very great courage and valour in defending themselues (as it falleth out ofte times, where extremity of danger it selfe takes away all feare of danger.) In this fight *M. Ostorius* the Lieutenants sonne was crowned with an oken garland, as an honourable reward for saving a *Roman* Citizen.

Now by the slaughter of the *Icenians*, the residue of the *Britans* (who stood vpon doubtfull termes, as wauering betweene warre and peace) were well quieted, and *Ostorius* led his army against the *Cangi*, whose country hee spoyled and wasted, while the inhabitants durst not come into the field, but priuily surprised such as they found stragling behinde the *Roman* army; which was now come neere the sea coast, that lookes toward *Ireland*; when as certaine tumults stirred among the *Brigantes*, broght back the Generall, who thought it best, not to enter into any new action; before he had made all sure in those parts; howbeit, vpon his comming thither, some few of the *Brigantes* (that first began to take armes) being put to death, the residue were pardoned, and the country quieted. For the Generall wisely considering, that in sdcy cases lenity sometimes preuaileth, where force and rigor cannot, did seeke to win fauour.

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uour of the *Britans* by curteous vsage of such as either fled vnto him for protection, or else, by the fortune of warre, fell into his hands, sometimes pardoning them, sometimes rewarding them, and sometimes vsing them in seruice against their owne nation, as he did *Cogidunnus a Britis Prince*, vpon whom he had bestowed certaine cities in free gift, according to an ancient custome among the *Romans*, who vsed euen Kings themselues for instruments of bondage. But the *Silures* could neither by cruelty, nor faire meanes be held in, so as the Generall saw there was no way to keepe them vnder, but with a garrison of *Legionary* souldiers; and to that end the *Colonia* at *Camalodunum* (consisting of a strong company of old souldiers) was brought into the subdued country, to defend it against such as should rebell, and to make the confederates more willing to liue in obedience.

Then the army marched against the *Silures*, who besides their naturall boldnes, relied much vpon the strength of *Caractacus* their leader, a man that had waded through many dangers, and had bin fortunate in many aduentures, hauing gotten thereby such reputation, as he was preferred, before all the *British* capaines. But as in policie and knowledge of the country, he had an aduantage of the *Romans*: so perciuing himselfe to be vnequally matched in strength, he remoued the warre to the *Ordonices*, who entring into the action with him, (as fearing alike the *Roman* power) resolued ioyntly to hazard the chaunce of warre. And herevpon they prepared for battell, hauing chosen a place very comodious for theselues, & disaduantageable for their enemies. Then they went to the top of an hill, & where they found any easie passage vp, they stopped the way with heapes of stones, in maner of a rampire. Not farre off, ran a riuier with an vncertaine foord, where, vpon the bancke, a company of the best souldiers were placed, for a defence in the fore warde. The leaders went about,

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exhorting and encouraging the common souldiers, vsing such perwassions as might best fit their humors, and the present occasion; and *Caractacus* himselfe, coursing vp and downe, protested, that that day, and that battell, should be either the beginning of recouery of liberty, or of perpetuall seruitude. Then he called vpon the names of his ancestors, that had chased *Cesar the Dictator* out of the Isle, and had deliuered them from hatchets, and Tributes, & protected their wiues and children from shame & violence. While he vittered these, or the like speeches, the people round about him made a noyse, and every man sware, according to the religion of his country, that neither their enemies weapons, nor their owne wounds should make them to giue ouer. That cheerefull cry, terrified and astonied the *Roman* General, and the rather, when he considered, how he was couped in, hauing the riuier beneath him, the fort before him, the high hilles hanging ouer it, and all things on evry side threatening danger, and destruction to the assaylers. Howbeit his souldiers demaunded the battell, crying, that *There was nothing which valour could not overcome*. The *Prefects* and *Tribunes*, vsing the like speeches, added courage to the rest. Then *Ostorius* hauing viewed the places of difficult accessse, led his souldiers (being hot and eager of the fight) vnto the further side of the riuier, and from thence to the rampire, where, while they fought with their darts, they had the worst, but hauing broken downe the rude compacted heape of stones with a *Tefludo*, and both armies comming to handy strokes vpon equall aduantage, the *Britans* turned their backs, and ran to the hill top, the *Romans* pursueng the both with their light, & heauy armed souldiers, the one assayling with darts, & the other (as they marched thicke together,) breaking the rankes, and beating downe the barbarous people, who had neither headpeece, nor armour to defend themselves, so that being hedged in betweene the *Legionary* souldiers, and

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and the *Auxiliaries*, the greatest part of them were slaine in the place.

At this assault *Caratacus* his wife, and daughter were taken prisoners, and his Brethren yeelded to the ennemis; but himselfe druen to extremity, escaped by flight into the Country of the *Brigantes*, hoping to receiue some aid of *Cartimandua* the Queene there. But, as it falleth out commonly with men in aduersitie, to be forsaken & left succores, so instead of finding the relief which he expected, he fell into the danger, which he little doubted. For *Cartimandua*, either fearing hir owne estate, or thinking to win fauor of the Conqueror (as Princes oftentimes make vse of one anothers misfortunes to serue their owne turnes) detayned him in prison a while, & afterwards deliuered him to *Ostorigo*, who was exceeding glad that he had gotten him, and forthwith sent him to *Rome*, as a prize of great worth, and the happy fruites of nine yeares seruice in the warres. The report of him was spread throughout the Iles & Prouinces adioyning, and his name was renowned in most parts of *Italy*, each man desiring to see him, who had so long time withstood, and contynued that power, which held all the world in awe, and obedience. The City of *Rome* for many dayes together was filled only with talke of him, & expectation of his comming, and the Emperor himselfe as a Conqueror, by extolling his owne worthines, couertly added more glory to the conquered. The people assembled together, as it were, to see some notable and rare spectacle. The Emperors gard in armes were orderly placed in the field before the Campe. After this preparation made, the Prisoners, and *Trophies* were presented in this manner. First, the vassalls of *Caratacus* going formost, bowed their bodies to the people, as they passed, and seemed by their rufull countenances to discouer their feare. The caparisons, chaines, & other spoyles taken in the warre were carried after them. Then *Caratacus* his Brethren, his Wife, and

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and Daughters followed; and last of all came *Caratacus* himselfe. His body was naked, for the most part, and painted with the figures of diuerse beastes. He ware a chaine of Iron about his necke, and another about his middle. The haire of his head hanging downe in long locks (curled by nature) couered his backe, and shoulders, and the haire of his upper lip being parted on both sides, lay vpon his breast. The rest of his body was shauen all ouer. Neither was his behauior lesle noted, then the strangenesse of his habit: For he neither hung downe his head, nor craued mercy (as the rest did) but went on boldy with a settled and sterne countenance, till he came before the Emperors *Tri-bunall* seate, and there standing still a while, he after spake these, or the like words.

If either my vertues in prosperity, had beene answerable to the greatnes of my estate, or the successe of my late attempts to the resolution of my Minde, I might haue come to this City, to haue bin entertained rather as a Friend, then as a Captiue to be gazed vpon; For it should haue bin no disgrace for the *Romans*, to haue admitted into society with them, a man royally discended, and a commaundour of many warlike Nations. But what cloud soeuer *Fortune* hath cast ouer my estate, she is not able to take from mee those things, which the heauens and Nature haue giuen mee: (that is,) the dignitie of my Birth, and the Courage of my Minde, which never fayled mee. I know it is a Custome among you, to make your *Triumphs*, the Spectacles of other Mens Miseries, and in this my Calamitie, as in a Mirror, you do now behold your owne glory. Yet know, that I was sometimes a Prince, furnished with strength of men, and abiliments of warre; and what meruaile is it, that I haue now lost them, since your owne experience hath taught you, that the euent of warres are variable, and vncertain? I thought that the deepe Waters, which like a Wall enclose vs,

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“ (whom the heauetis seeke to haue placed farre off, in anoth-
“ ther world by it selfe,) might haue bin a sufficient Defence
“ for vs against forreine invasion; But I see now, that your
“ Desire of souerainty admits no limitation, since neither the
“ danger of an vnknownne sea, nor the Distance of place, can
“ any longer warrant our safety and liberty. If you will needs
“ command the whole world, then must all then become
“ your vassalles, and liue vnder a forced obedience. For mine
“ own part, as long as I wittable, I made resistatice, being vn-
“ willing to subiit my necke to a forreigne Yoke. The law
“ of naturall reason alloweth every man to defend himselfe,
“ being assailed, and to withstand force, by force. Had I
“ yeelded at the first, thy glory, and my mishap had not bin
“ so renowned, but both of them would soone haue bin for-
“ gotten. Fortune hath done her wroght, & we haue now no-
“ thing left vs but our liues, which if thou spare (hauing
“ power to spill) thou shalt do that, which best beseemeth a
“ great Minde, and a noble Nature.

The Emperor hearing this speach, and wondring to see
such boldnes and Constancie of Mind in a dejected estate,
pardoned both him, and the rest of his Company, com-
maunding them to be vnbound, & so dismissed them. For
many daies together, *Caractacus* his Fortune ministred
matter of discourse to the Lordes of the Senate, who af-
firmed the spectacle of his Captiuitie to be no lesse hono-
rable, then that of *Syphax* the *Numidian* King, ouer whome
P. Scipio triumphed, or that of *Perse*, whom *Paulus Aemilius* vanquished, or of any other Kings; that had in for-
mer times bin taken in warre, and shewed to the people.
Then publicke honors of triumph were decreed for *Ostro-
rius*, whose fortunes being now at the highest, began after-
wards to decline, by reaon that either *Caractacus* (the ob-
iect of his valor,) being remoued, he supposed he had made
a full conquest, and therfore followed the service more
carelessly: or else, for that the residue of the *Britans*, hauing
compassion

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espession of the misfortune of so mighty a Prince, & be-
ing eager of reuenge, renewed the warre, for they assayled
the *Legionary Cohorts* which were left behind to build for-
tresses in the *Silures* Country, killed the *Campe-Maister*,
and eight *Centurions*, besides some of the forwardest soul-
diers, and they had put al the rest to the sword, if speedy res-
cue had not come from the Villages and Forts adioyning.
Diuers other sallies they made, as time and place gaue the
aduantage, preuailing sometimes by strength, sometimes by
pollicy, and sometimes by chaunce. The Principall Mo-
tive, that induced the rest to take armes, was the example
of the *Silures*, who were most resolutely bent, as being ex-
asperated, by reason of a speech that the *Roman* Emperour
had vsed, which was: That he would roote out the name of
the *Silures*, as the *Sicambrians* had bin in former time. This
made the bold & desperate to aduenture, as men knowing
their destinie before hand. Many skirmishes they had, in
surprising the scattered troopes of the *Roman* souldiers, and
often times with good successe, in taking rich booties, and
prisoners, and distributing the spoyles among their neigh-
bors, by which meanes they drew them also to revolt.

In the meane time, *Ostorius* wearied with care and
trauaile, ended his life. Whereof *Cladius* the Emperour
being aduertised, sent *Aulus Didius* to take charge of the
army in *Britannie*, where notwithstanding all the haste hee
made, he found all out of frame: *Manlius Valeys* with his
Legion hauing encountered the *Britans* with ill successe,
which, by report of the *Illanders*, was made greater the in-
deed it was, to terrifie the new Gouernor, who also made
use of the same pollicy to serue his owne turne, for by en-
creasing the fame of that, which hee heard reported, hee
supposed, either to win greater praise, if he preuailed, or to
purchase a more fauourable censure of his actions, if hee
miscalried. The *Silures* had made many roades into the
subdued Country, wastling, and spoyling round about,